THE HEADPIECE MINIATURES AND GENEALOGY PICTURES IN PARIS. GR. 74

Shigebumi Tsuji

The present paper, which is to form part of a more comprehensive study of the mid-Byzantine Gospel illustrations, was started as a section of my Ph.D. dissertation, which was submitted to the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University in 1968. I can never be too grateful to Prof. Kurt Weitzmann for his kind and patient instruction and encouragement in the course of more than a decade, since my first student days at Princeton. This paper in its present form was completed during my stay at Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies from the end of 1972 to the end of 1973. I am much obliged to the Trustees for Harvard University not only for their generous financial aid, which supported my research during that period, but also for the opportunity I was given to receive many invaluable suggestions from members of the Board of Scholars of Dumbarton Oaks. Special thanks should be extended to my young colleagues there, with whom I thoroughly enjoyed many a useful discussion. Especially I owe a great deal to Dr. Michael and Mrs. Elizabeth Jeffreys, who kindly translated for me the passages of Pseudo-Germanus, although I remain fully responsible for any flaws the translation may contain. Last but not least, my sincere thanks go to the editorial staff of *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, and especially to Mrs. Fanny Bonajuto, who undertook the enormous task of editing my paper, and to Mrs. Mary Lou Masey, who most patiently corrected and typed my original draft. Most of the photographs that illustrate my article were generously furnished by Professor Weitzmann, except for fig. 3, which was newly made by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris to whom I should like to express my gratitude for their permission to reproduce it.

THE Greek Gospel books Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 74,[1] and Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. VI.23,[2] are well known for their extensive narrative illustrations. The two picture cycles, however, clearly differ from one another in both iconography and form. The most obvious iconographical difference between them is the fact that, while the illustration in the Florentine Gospel book closely follows the Gospel text, that in the Parisinus includes many scenes, in addition to the pictures based on the canonical Gospel text, which are obviously derived from a number of different pictorial sources.[3] Although it is true that the Florentine cycle is not completely lacking in non-canonical elements,[4] such elements are rather exceptional. On the other hand, in Paris. gr. 74 one can observe a number of scenes borrowed from illustrations of apocryphal Gospels, monastic writings, Lives of saints, and so on. In addition, the whole cycle in the Parisinus is permeated with a deep concern for liturgy and theology which has introduced into the cycle not only many unique iconographical elements but also, as we shall soon see, new artistic forms, especially new types of composition. In short, the Gospel cycle in the Parisinus is a very complex "polycyclic" illustration in contrast to the simple, literal one in the Florentine Gospel book. The former not only pictorializes the Gospel stories, but also interprets and comments upon them. In this regard, the illustration in Paris. gr. 74 is basically similar to the so-called monastic Psalter illustrations, which are also "polycyclic" and comment upon, rather than simply pictorialize, the contents of the Psalms.[5]

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[1] H. Omont, *Evangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^{e} siècle. Reproduction des 361 miniatures du manuscrit grec 74 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1908) (hereafter, Omont, *Evangiles*). S. Dufrenne, "Deux chefs-d'œuvre de la miniature du XI^{e} siècle," *CahArch*, 17 (1967), 177ff.; the bibliography prior to 1967 is found here at pp. 177–78 notes 2 and 3. The following articles must be added to her bibliography: A. Grabar, "La représentation de l'intelligible dans l'art byzantin du Moyen Age," *Actes du V^{e} Congrès international des Etudes byzantines*, II (Paris, 1948); *idem*, "L'art religieux et l'empire byzantin à l'époque des Macédoniens," *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences Religieuses* (1939–40); both articles are now included in A. Grabar, *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen-âge*, two vols. of text and one of plates (Paris, 1968), the former article on p. 51ff., esp. 54–56, and the latter on p. 151ff., esp. 163ff. (hereafter, citations are made from this edition); E. H. Kantorowicz, "*Puer Exoriens*. On the Hypapante in the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore," *Perennitas. P. Thomas Michels OSB zum 70. Geburtstag* (Münster, 1963), which is now included in his *Selected Studies* (New York, 1965), 25ff.

More recent references to the manuscript are found in V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), 187f. and *passim* (hereafter, Lazarev, *Storia*); S. Tsuji, "The Study of the Byzantine Gospel Illustrations in Florence, Laur. Plut. VI. 23, and Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. gr. 74" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., 1968) (hereafter, Tsuji, "The Byzantine Gospel Illustrations"); S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*. II, *Londres Add. 19.352*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, V (Paris, 1970) (hereafter, Der Nersessian, *Add. 19352*), *s.v.* "Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 74, Evangile" in the Index of manuscripts on p. 115 (to which p. 87 must be added); T. Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne, Florence, Laur. VI. 23*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, VI (Paris, 1971), 7 and *passim*; S. Der Nersessian, "Recherches sur les miniatures du Parisinus graecus 74," *JÖB*, 21 (1972) (=*Festschrift für Otto Demus zum 70. Geburtstag*), 109ff. (hereafter, Der Nersessian, "Parisinus graecus 74"); N. Wibiral, "Zur Bilderredaktion im Neuen Testament, Socrus Petri," *WJbKg*, 25 (1972) (=*Festschrift für O. Demus und O. Pächt*), 17f., with a few additional references in footnotes.

[2] Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne*, has neither footnotes nor bibliography. The best bibliography before 1964 is found in *Byzantine Art, an European Art*, Zappeion Exhibition Hall, Athens 1964, Catalogue of the exhibition, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1964), no. 303, bibliography at p. 543; Lazarev, *Storia*, 193 and *passim*; Tsuji, "The Byzantine Gospel Illustrations," bibliography at pp. 136–37; Wibiral, "Zur Bilderredaktion im Neuen Testament, Socrus Petri," 16–17.

[3] Tsuji, "The Byzantine Gospel Illustrations," 20ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, 30–32, 110–12.

Since there are notable differences in style and iconography between the two Gospel cycles, they were once thought by G. Millet to belong to two different iconographical recensions.[6] Before undertaking an investigation into the origin or origins of these cycles, however, it is necessary to define the characteristics of the form and iconography of the illustration in Paris. gr. 74. This paper, therefore, deals mainly with the process of the creation of the various formal and iconographical aspects that are unique to the Parisinus. In dealing with this process, I propose to clarify the original approach to the Gospel text taken by the Byzantine artist who produced this unique Gospel illustration. Such an investigation shall enable me in the near future to discuss the ultimate origin or origins of the mid-Byzantine Gospel illustrations.

To this end I have chosen a particular set of miniatures in Paris. gr. 74 as the subject of my discussion. First, I shall deal with the four miniatures at the beginning of the four Gospels, each consisting of an ornamented square headpiece containing a set of medallion-figures. Second, I shall study the Genealogy pictures in Matthew and Luke. At first, this selection may seem rather arbitrary. However, both André Grabar and Sirarpie Der Nersessian, although their study was only partial, have suggested that these miniatures express some fundamental notions of the Byzantines of the eleventh century.[7] In this paper I propose to discuss them from a different point of view, with special emphasis on their morphological characteristics, which previously had been more or less neglected by scholars. I shall try to keep the discussion of the iconographical problems as separate as possible from that of the formal ones. These problems, however, are often so closely interwoven that it is hard to understand one without having knowledge of the other; for in his original interpretation of traditional iconographical subjects the Byzantine illustrator created new forms, and these new forms, in turn, caused traditional subjects to develop in new directions.

Figure Style and Date

The figure style of the miniatures in Paris. gr. 74 has often been compared with that of the famous Theodore Psalter in London, British Museum, Add.

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[5] Regarding the close relationship between Paris. gr. 74 and London, Add. 19352, see Dufrenne, "Deux chefs-d'œuvre de la miniature du XI^{e} siècle."

[6] G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile* (Paris, 1916; repr. Paris, 1960), 12 and *passim*, esp. 561 ff. A different view has been expressed by K. Weitzmann in his paper published in the *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Oxford, 5–10 September 1966*, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century," which is now included in his *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. L. Kessler (Chicago, 1971), 290–91.

[7] See the two articles by Grabar cited in note 1 *supra*, and Der Nersessian, "Parisinus graecus 74."

19352.[8] In the two manuscripts the illustrations lack any realistic, three-dimensional rendering of the figures. This is particularly noticeable in the treatment of the garments. There is hardly any modeling to suggest the corporeality of the bodies under them. The figures all appear flat and are covered with elaborate golden striation, which alone suggests the movement of the body underneath. Moreover, in both sets of illustrations, the proportions of the body are considerably elongated. Because of these similarities, some scholars tend to date the illustration in Paris. gr. 74 to about, or even prior to, 1066, which is the date of the Theodore Psalter.

However, a closer comparison of the two cycles shows that their stylistic similarities end here. First, the uncovered parts of the body—especially the heads—are executed more sketchily in the Paris Gospel book than in the London Psalter. In the latter they are very carefully modeled, with a pale green color used in the shaded areas. Second, while the colors in the illustrations of the Psalter are always thick and opaque, those in the Parisinus are much more sophisticated and ornamental.[9] In the latter, very thin, almost transparent paint is used for the figures as well as for the strips of ground. One can even see the surface of the parchment through the pigment that covers it. This use of color has often been attributed to the influence of enamel work.[10] Finally, the technique of the underdrawing is different in the two manuscripts. In the Paris Gospel book the basic outlines are very sharp and almost nervously incised—in other words, they are essentially calligraphic. On the other hand, in the Theodore Psalter the first underdrawing is done in pale brown or yellow ochre, and the lines are very monotonous. Yet, they are frequently accentuated by fine brush strokes in jet-black paint, and the brushwork tends to be broader wherever ample space for the insertion of illustrations was provided, as, for example, in the lively depiction of animals and birds on fol. 6v.[11] Such broad, painterly brushwork is not to be expected in the refined miniatures of Paris. gr. 74.

Because of this highly artificial use of color as well as the calligraphic nature of the drawing, the figures in the Parisinus seem less corporeal than those in the Theodore Psalter. This abstract quality is further increased by a markedly hieratic tendency in the composition, which I shall discuss later in greater detail. These aspects definitely distinguish the miniature style of Paris. gr. 74 from that of Brit. Mus. Add. 19352. On the other hand, this style certainly resembles, especially in its uncommon colors, that of the small marginal illustrations in a Gospel book in the Vienna Nationalbibliothek (codex theol. gr. 154), as Lazarev has correctly observed.[12] P. Buberl once attempted to date these miniatures to the middle of the eleventh century.

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[8] Der Nersessian, *Add. 19352*, 15 and notes 7 and 8; Dufrenne, "Deux chefs-d'œuvre de la miniature du XIe siècle," 179ff.; Tsuji, "The Byzantine Gospel Illustrations," 6ff.

[9] Lazarev, *Storia*, 187–88.

[10] N. Kondakoff, *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures*, II (Paris. 1891), 138–39.

[11] Der Nersessian, *Add. 19352*, pl. 7.

[12] Lazarev, *Storia, loc. cit.*

At the same time, however, he admitted that their artificial, ornamental style closely recalls that of a Gospel book in the Vatican Library (gr. 342), which dates from *ca.* 1088.[13] A very similar figure style appears also at the beginning of the long narrative cycle in the Florentine Gospel book, especially on folios 7^r–9^v.[14] Since this part of the Florentine cycle must have been executed in the last quarter of the eleventh century,[15] I am inclined to date the Vienna Gospel book to the third quarter, rather than to the middle, of the eleventh century, in agreement with Lazarev's dating.

The illustration of Paris. gr. 74 shows a more advanced stage of abstraction than that of the Theodore Psalter and, at the same time, a certain stylistic similarity to that of Vindob. theol. gr. 154. It may be safe, therefore, to date it to some time between the late 1060's and the early 1080's.

THE HEADPIECES

COMPOSITION

Each of the four Gospels in Paris. gr. 74 is preceded by a rectangular headpiece decorated with various floral motifs (Matthew, fol. 1^r, fig. 1; Mark, fol. 64^r, fig. 2; Luke, fol. 104^r, fig. 3; John, fol. 167^r, fig. 4).[16] Each headpiece is combined with a set of medallions containing a variety of figures. The largest medallion in the center contains the portrait of the Evangelist seated and writing the respective Gospel. (The iconography of these Evangelist portraits will not be dealt with in the present study.) The headpieces at the beginning of the three Synoptic Gospels are topped in each case by a medallion which protrudes from the upper border of the square or rectangular ornament, and each of these protruding medallions contains a different type of Christ. All the other smaller medallions within these headpieces contain standing figures, which, as I shall soon show, illustrate the first verses in the respective Gospel. The headpiece at the beginning of the Fourth Gospel does not have a medallion at the top; it has, instead, three medallions placed in a horizontal row at the bottom which also contain three different types of Christ.

While the iconography of these medallion figures has sometimes been discussed by scholars, the particular form of the headpieces has never been fully investigated. In my opinion, this type of headpiece miniature combined with a set of medallion figures is a creation of the second half of the eleventh century, and the way the medallions are placed within the ornament is planned with careful consideration of the iconographical nature of the figures themselves. Therefore, I should like first to study the arrangement of these headpieces, and then to investigate the iconography of the figures that appear in them.

[13] P. Buberl and H. Gerstinger, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, VI,2 (Leipzig, 1938), 21–31, esp. 22–23.

[14] Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne*, pl. 7, fig. 15–pl. 9, fig. 19; Tsuji, "The Byzantine Gospel Illustrations," 9–10.

[15] Regarding the date of the Florentine Gospel book, see Tsuji, "The Byzantine Gospel Illustrations," 8–16; Velmans, *op. cit.*, 12, 18ff.

[16] Omont, *Evangiles*, pls. 1, 57, 92, 142.

The placing of an ornament with floral motifs at the beginning of the major divisions of a book has been universally practiced from an early period.[17] In the tenth century the ornament generally took the form of a simple beam or of the letter Π. Sometimes it was made into a rectangular frame surrounding the title lines of the division of the book. From the early eleventh century at the latest, this ornamental frame became increasingly broader and more elaborate.

From the middle of the eleventh century onward iconographical representations—human figures as well as narrative scenes—began to be combined with, and then took the place of, such title lines within the ornamental frame. One of the earliest dated instances, to my knowledge, is found in a menologion in the Moscow Historical Museum (gr. 9), of the year 1063.[18] Two scenes from the life of St. Arsenius are enclosed, together with the title lines, within a broad frame richly decorated with floral motifs. More elaborate examples are found in two lectionaries, one on Mount Athos (Dionysiu 587, which perhaps antedates the Moscow Menologion),[19] and the other in New York (Pierpont Morgan Library 639), dating to the second half of the eleventh century.[20] Many of the pictures in these manuscripts are placed at the beginning of pericopes and are often surrounded by broad, luxuriously decorated frames. While most of the enframed pictures in these Lectionaries are rectangular in shape, the ornament heading the Markan pericopes in the Morgan Lectionary, folio 218^r, is square and within it is a large roundel with the portrait of the Evangelist.[21]

It was probably in the second half of the eleventh century that a set of small medallions were added to the headpieces. These medallions undoubtedly were developed from the floral motifs surrounded by winding tendrils. This origin, for instance, appears unmistakably in the sixteen small medallions with busts enclosed in the elaborate frame of the frontispiece miniature to the pericope of Easter Sunday on folio 2^r in the Dionysiu Lectionary.[22] Here, the three roundels in the top border contain the busts of the Virgin and two flanking angels, the remaining the busts of Peter (left), Paul (right), ten Apostles, and one youthful martyr clad in a chlamys, perhaps St. Theodore Stratelates.

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[17] K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), 22–32.

[18] K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, VI (Boston, 1936), pl. 408; S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologium," *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), 224, 229f.; Lazarev, *Storia*, 189.

[19] Lazarev, *Storia, loc. cit.*; K. Weitzmann, "An Imperial Lectionary in the Monastery of Dionysiu on Mount Athos," *RESEE*, 7 (1969), 339–53; S. M. Pelekanidis, P. C. Christou, Ch. Tsioumis, S. N. Kadas, *The Treasures of Mt. Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, I (Athens, 1974), 434–46, figs. 189–277.

[20] K. Weitzmann, "The Constantinopolitan Lectionary, Morgan 639," *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. D. Minor (Princeton, 1954), 358–73; *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*. An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann, The Art Museum, Princeton University, ed. G. Vikan (Princeton, 1973), no. 28, p. 118ff.

[21] Weitzmann, "The Constantinopolitan Lectionary," fig. 312. An earlier, but not precisely datable, example of a medallion figure is the head of an angel in the Lectionary Paris. gr. 778, from the end of the ninth century: Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pl. vi, 28.

[22] *Idem*, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century" (see note 6 *supra*), 289–90, fig. 286; Pelekanidis, *op.cit.*, fig. 190.

It is to be pointed out that in the Dionysiu Lectionary the medallion busts surrounding the monumental composition of the Anastasis are very reminiscent of the series of medallions placed on the arch and lower frame of apse decorations, such as those found in the apse mosaic of the St. Catherine monastery church on Mount Sinai.[23] The illustrator of the Lectionary obviously attempted to increase the monumental quality of his miniature by the addition of these medallions. Another series of medallion busts can be observed in the Π-shaped ornament at the beginning of Psalm I in the Vatican codex gr. 752, folio 19^{r}, from 1059.[24] E. T. De Wald observed that "within the gold borders of this frame is a series of thirteen medallions. The five medallions of the upper border contain the heads of the archangel Michael, the Virgin, Christ, John the Baptist, and David, reading from left to right, and represent an abbreviated Deësis." The remaining roundels contain various kinds of birds and animals. These medallion figures strongly suggest that the ultimate pictorial source is to be sought in iconostasis decoration.[25]

The placement of the large central medallion with the Evangelist portraits in the headpiece miniatures in Paris. gr. 74 apparently follows earlier examples, like the one in the Morgan Lectionary. On the other hand, the set of smaller medallions accompanying the central one is unique to the illumination of this particular Gospel book. If the date of the manuscript I have proposed above—from the late 1060's to the early 1080's—is correct, this is the earliest known instance of the combination of full-length figures in a medallion within an ornamented headpiece. The frames of these smaller medallions closely resemble the circular tendrils of those in the Dionysiu Lectionary. They even have leaves growing from them and are connected to the tendrils of the nearby floral motifs in an elaborate manner. The artist seems to have planned the size and distribution of these medallions to accord with the accompanying circular floral motifs. Thus, the size of some of them is the same as that of the roundels filled with ornamental motifs. Above all, it must be noted that the arrangement of all these medallions is strictly geometrical. For example, in the headpiece of the Matthew Gospel the four smaller medallions surround the central one in such a way as to enclose the latter in a rigid rectangle. Again, the three medallions placed in the upper part of the square and rectangular headpieces of both the Matthew and Mark Gospels form rigid triangles surmounting the Evangelists' portraits in the central roundels. In the headpiece of the Luke Gospel, the medallions are placed vertically on the axis of the square. The geometrical arrangement of the ornaments appears to have a certain hieratic quality.

By the end of the eleventh century, the number of the medallions in headpieces tends to increase. The inner part of the headpiece to the Preface to the Four Gospels in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma (Palat. 5, fol. 5^{r}: fig. 5)[26] is composed of an ornamental design similar to that of the miniature with St. Mark in the Morgan Lectionary, which I have mentioned above. The border, however, has become broad enough to contain the portrait figures of the four Evangelists in its four corners. The large central medallion is occupied by a very hieratic representation of the Majesty of Christ. The four small winding tendrils which in the Morgan Lectionary miniature surrounded the medallion with St. Mark have here become medallions containing the symbols of the four Evangelists.

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[23] G. H. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai. The Church and Fortress of Justinian*, plate volume (Ann Arbor [1973]), pl. CIII ff.

[24] E. T. De Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*. III. *Psalms and Odes*, pt. 2: *Vaticanus Graecus 752* (Princeton, 1942) (hereafter, De Wald, *Vaticanus graecus 752*), pl. 14.

[25] See *infra*, p. 173f.

These images in the headpiece in Parm. 5 illustrate a passage in the Preface to the Gospels which is actually an excerpt from Book III.6.8 of *Adversus haereses* by St. Irenaeus.[27] This early Church Father stresses the quadruplicity of the Gospels by referring to the four zones of the world, the four principal winds, the four faces of the cherubim, and so on. The center of this quadripartite universe is ὁ καϑήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ—the one who sits upon the cherubim. The hieratic composition of the medallion figures seems to reflect monumental representations of the prophetic visions of theophany.

A final example of a headpiece combined with medallions is found again in a lectionary, in the National Library in Athens (codex 2645, fol. 1^{r}), probably from the middle of the twelfth century (fig. 6).[28] The central part of the square ornament consists of two concentric circles. The inner one contains the figure of the enthroned Christ, while the title of the pericope (John 1:1f.) is inscribed within the outer circle. A circular decorated band enframes these two circles. The rest of the space is filled with twelve smaller medallions. Four of them, containing the busts of the four Evangelists, are placed in the corners and are somewhat larger than the other eight, which, in turn, contain four busts of angels, two seraphim, and two cherubim in pairs. On either side of the frame the Virgin and John the Baptist turn toward the enthroned Christ in the center, in an attitude of prayer, thus forming the Dëesis. The small figure below on the left seems to be John the Evangelist, the two below on the right, Peter and Paul. These three figures apparently witness the apparition of Christ in his glory. The winding floral motifs still present in Parm. 5 have disappeared.

A. Xyngopoulos has suggested that this headpiece, as well as that in a lectionary in S. Giorgio dei Greci, Venice, from the thirteenth century, may have been inspired by a Great Deësis, perhaps that of the second iconostasis in the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.[29] There is little doubt that the Deësis figures in these two headpieces reflect iconostasis iconography. However, the famous epistyle in the templon of Hagia Sophia cannot have been the only pictorial source. An iconostasis beam with a Deësis was almost ubiquitous in Byzantine churches from the ninth century on, and the influence of this particular iconography can be observed in several extant miniatures.[30] The Π-shaped ornament at the beginning of Psalm 1 in Vat. gr. 752, folio 19^r, clearly reflects some iconostasis program, as I have mentioned above. The miniature at the beginning of the liturgical roll in the Greek Patriarchate Library in Jerusalem (Staurou 109)[31] deliberately copies the upper part of an iconostasis of a type similar to that found in the church of S. Maria in Valle Porclaneta, near Rosciolo.[32]

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[26] Lazarev, *Storia*, 191.

[27] The texts of the Gospel Prefaces are found in H. F. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, I,1 (Göttingen, 1911), 300ff., esp. 302–4; the original text by Irenaeus is in PG, 7, col. 885ff.

[28] A. Xyngopoulos, Τὸ ἱστορημένον εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ 'Ελληνικοῦ 'Ινστιτούτου Βενετίας, in Θησαυρίσματα, 1 (1962), 70, pl. 2.2; *Byzantine Art, an European Art* (see note 2 *supra*), no. 338.

[29] Xyngopoulos, Τὸ ἱστορημένον εὐαγγέλιον, 69–71; his theory is recapitulated in *Byzantine Art, an European Art, loc. cit.*

This frequent concurrence of iconostasis iconography with the geometrical arrangement of the medallion figures within the rectangular headpieces is not accidental. The ornamental schemes supplied excellent framework for the representations of a hieratic type of iconography. The subject matter represented within this framework was by no means limited to the Deësis. In Parm. 5 the subject is the majestic apparition of ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ. The headpiece to the first Oration of Gregory of Nazianz in a liturgical Gregory manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (gr. 550, fol. 5^r) contains a large-scale Anastasis, the composition of which is obviously dependent on the ornamental scheme of the rectangular headpiece.[33] It is especially to be noted that these subjects are in one way or another related to the Divine Liturgy. The liturgical significance of the Deësis on the iconostasis beam is beyond doubt. The apparition of Christ, such as seen in Parm. 5, not only illustrates the Irenaean text of the Gospel Preface but also symbolizes the liturgical importance of the Gospel book, as I shall discuss later. The liturgical nature of the Anastasis picture in Paris. gr. 550 has already been studied by Xyngopoulos and Galavaris.

If I am not mistaken, the medallion figures in the headpieces in Paris. gr. 74 are no exception. The study of their iconography will reveal their intrinsic nature.[33a]

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE MEDALLION FIGURES

As far as the headpieces of the Synoptic Gospels are concerned, some of their medallion figures obviously illustrate the first verses of each Gospel. Abraham and Isaac in the Matthew Gospel frontispiece are based on Matt. 1:2, John the Baptist and the Prophet Isaiah in the Mark Gospel on Mark 1:2–4, and Zacharias the priest in the Luke Gospel on Luke 1:5.[34] In illustrating the very beginning of the Gospels which immediately follow the miniatures, these medallion figures reflect the tradition of lectionary illustrations from the eleventh and twelfth centuries which tend to pictorialize the very beginning of the pericope.[35] Similar groups of figures related to the first verses of the Gospels are found, as marginal miniatures, in other Gospel books from this period, for instance in the Psalter and New Testament in Washington (Dumbarton Oaks Coll., codex 3), and in a Gospel book in Baltimore (Walters Art Gallery, codex 522), as Miss Der Nersessian correctly pointed out.[36]

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[30] See the excellent survey of the history and of the monuments of the iconostasis by V. Lazarev, "Trois fragments d'épistyles peintes et le templon byzantin," Δελτ.Χριστ.'Αρχ.'Ετ., 4 (1964–65), 117ff.

[31] A. Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures," in his *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen-âge* (see note 1 *supra*), I, 469ff., III, pl. 121.

[32] H. R. Hahnloser, *La Pala d'Oro* (Florence, 1965), 94ff., pl. LXX.

[33] H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1929), pl. CVII; G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, 1969), 73–77, pl. LXXXVII, fig. 401.

[33a] A. Xyngopoulos, in 'Επ.'Ετ.Βυζ.Σπ., 17 (1941), 113–29, esp. 116ff.; Galavaris, *op. cit.*, 73f.

[34] Der Nersessian, "Parisinus graecus 74," 113.

Other small medallion figures in the four headpieces in Paris. gr. 74 form two sets of triple images of Christ—as the Ancient of Days, the Emmanuel, and the Pantocrator. The first set consists of the crowning medallions in the headpieces of the Synoptic Gospels (figs. 1, 2, 3), the second in the three medallions at the bottom of the ornamental headpiece of the Gospel of John (fig. 4). Since these two sets are so very similar, the second set at the beginning of the Fourth Gospel has been regarded simply as the assemblage of the first three figures distributed at the beginning of the Synoptic Gospels.[37]

I should like to begin my investigation with the three images in the crowning medallions in the first three Gospels. The concept that the Ancient of Days contemplated by prophets, Christ Emmanuel born of the Virgin, and Christ Pantocrator are one and the same God was repeatedly expressed in the Byzantine liturgical-dogmatic as well as pictorial traditions.[38] In art, a sixth-century icon in the St. Catherine monastery church on Mt. Sinai represents the Ancient of Days seated on a rainbow in a mandorla, which, as Weitzmann has observed, is carried by four zoomorphs.[39] His nimbus is marked with a cross and, moreover, the inscription clearly reads E[MMA]NOYHΛ, which proves that what we have here is actually a threefold image representing the preexisting Ancient of Days, the incarnate Emmanuel, and Christ Pantocrator. Another pictorial precedent of this triple image is found in the group of illustrations of a homily on the Nativity (alternatively attributed to either John of Euboea or John of Damascus[40]) preserved in two manuscripts, one in the Library of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem (Taphou 14)[41] and another on Mt. Athos (Esphigmenu 14).[42] The scenes of the Vision of the Magi in the fresco decoration in Eğri Taş kilisesi, Cappadocia, are probably based on a similar apocryphal tradition as the Nativity homily.[43] In these illustrations Christ reveals Himself to the Magi in three different ages. The first and youngest Magus sees Him as an old man, the second Magus as a mature man, and the third and oldest Magus as a little child.

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[35] Weitzmann, "Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustration," in his *Studies* (see note 6 *supra*), 252f.; S. Tsuji, "Byzantine Lectionary Illustration," in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections* (see *supra*, note 20), 36, 37.

[36] Der Nersessian, "Parisinus graecus 74," 112–14.

[37] *Ibid.*, 112.

[38] The literature concerning the three types of the manifestation of God is found in: Grabar, "La représentation de l'intelligible" (see note 1 *supra*), 55f.; Kantorowicz, "*Puer Exoriens*" (see note 1 *supra*), 28–30, 33–36.

[39] G. and M. Soteriou, Εἰκόνες τῆς μονῆς Σινᾶ (Athens, 1958), 23–25, figs. 8, 9; Prof. K. Weitzmann kindly informed me that the four winged figures surrounding the mandorla are to be identified as tetramorphs.

[40] E. Bratke, *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden*, TU, N.S., IV,3 (Leipzig, 1899), 87ff., esp. 90–94; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 483f., 502f. The text of the homily is published by L. Sophronios, Λόγος εἰς τῆν γέννησις τοῦ Κυριοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτηρὸς ἡμῶν 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, in Νέος Ποιμήν, 3 (1921), 23–42. Cf. also Kantorowicz, "*Puer Exoriens*," 34–35.

[41] Lazarev, *Storia*, 188 and note 9, fig. 202.

Thus we possess evidence which sufficiently proves that the three images of Christ as an ensemble were established iconographically by the mid-Byzantine period. At the same time, we must admit that none of these earlier or contemporary pictorial examples can be regarded as the direct model for the three medallion figures in the Parisinus. The Ancient of Days in the Sinai icon is a single figure, while the illustrations of the apocryphal Nativity story are purely narrative.

To my knowledge, the best iconographical comparison is found in the Theodore Psalter, a product of the monastery of Studios, which I have already discussed in the section on style and date. On folio 1^{r} we find a large square ornament containing the title of the first Psalm.[44] To the right of this ornament, the Ancient of Days is flanked by two cherubim. The inscription above reads ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμερ(ῶν). On folio 100^{r} there is again a large rectangular ornament containing the title of Psalm 77 in a roundel.[45] (These two rectangular headpieces are the only instances of this kind of ornament in this richly illuminated Psalter.) To the right of the second headpiece, exactly in the same place occupied by the Ancient of Days on folio 1^{r}, there is a bust of Christ as a youth, inscribed I͞C X͞C. Finally, on folio 189^{v}, where the iambic poem on the Life of David begins, the profusely illustrated text is surmounted by the scene of Christ Pantocrator sending an angel to David.[46] Christ is enthroned almost frontally and is flanked by two angels, the one at the right in the attitude of worship, the other about to depart from Heaven on his mission. The scene obviously illustrates the beginning of David's Life. Yet, it is deliberately isolated from the rest of the picture cycle and placed separately in a most prominent position on the page. According to S. Der Nersessian, "le groupe du Christ trônant entre deux anges domine l'ensemble des représentations, il illustre non seulement les paroles du poème,...mais il suggère en même temps que toute la vie de [David] se trouve sous la protection divine."[47]

Hitherto, it has been surmised that these three images in the Theodore Psalter are related to the content of the Psalms they accompany. But the relation between images and text is not as concrete as one might expect. According to Miss Der Nersessian, the image of the Ancient of Days represents "Yahvé" (who is mentioned in verse 2 of Psalm 1 as κύριος).[48] However, the image is isolated from both the text and the other scenes illustrating the Psalm, and it lacks any iconographical details that would associate it with any particular passage in the Psalm; also, as far as I know, Jehovah, God of Israel, is not, as a rule, represented as the Ancient of Days. On the other hand, the Christian tradition tends to stress the consubstantiality of Christ and God the Father, and the image of the Ancient of Days was introduced only in special cases, when the difference between the *personae* of God had to be visually expressed, as, for instance, in the representation of the Trinity.[49] In fact, there is no other instance of the representation of the Ancient of Days in the Theodore Psalter, and God-Jehovah is always represented as Christ. We may therefore surmise that a particular iconographical meaning, which has no direct relation with the text of the Psalm, is inherent in this image of the Ancient of Days at the very beginning of the Psalter.

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[42] *Ibid.*, 250 note 35; K. Weitzmann, "Representation of Hellenic Oracles in Byzantine Manuscripts," *Mélanges Mansel* (Ankara, 1974), I, 397ff., discusses at length the classical subjects in both manuscripts. I am much obliged to Prof. Weitzmann for permitting me to read his typescript.

[43] N. and M. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963), 50–54.

[44] Der Nersessian, *Add. 19352*, pl. 1, fig. 1.

[45] *Ibid.*, pl. 57, fig. 163.

[46] *Ibid.*, pl. 104, fig. 296.

[47] *Ibid.*, 99.

As for the second image, that of the youthful Christ, Miss Der Nersessian did not attempt to interpret it, probably because there is no possible connection between the image and the Psalm that follows.[50] The third image, that of Christ Pantocrator, contrary to the two preceding ones, is definitely related to the narrative cycle of the Life of David. Yet, as I have observed above, the image is intentionally isolated from the other narrative scenes and given a distinctive position. This seems to indicate an effort on the part of the artist to express visually the particular nature of the iconography—that is, to make it something more than part of the narrative illustration. On the basis of these observations, we may well assume that the three images were introduced in the Psalter not so much with regard to the content of the Psalm they accompanied as for some other reason which necessitated their presence in these particular places in the liturgical book.

In fact, the position of the images suggests a connection with the liturgical structure of the Psalter. Miss Der Nersessian described the book as consisting of seven sections and ten Odes.[51] But, from the liturgical viewpoint, I prefer to divide the book into three major sections. The first, which contains Psalms 1 to 76 (fols. 1^{r} to 99^{v}), may roughly correspond to the first ten *kathismata*. The second section, which includes Psalms 77 to 151 (fols. 100^{r} to 189^{r}), may be sung during the second half of the offices—*kathismata* 11 to 20. The last section, which contains the iambic poem on the Life of David, the Investiture poem, and the Odes (fols. 189^{v} to 208^{r}), may be sung separately from the *kathismata*. Thus, our three images of Christ are found at the beginning of each of these three major liturgical divisions of the Psalter, corresponding to the two groups of the offices and, in addition, to the Poems and Odes.[52]

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[48] *Ibid.*, 17.

[49] H. Gerstinger, "Über Herkunft und Entwicklung der anthropomorphen byzantinisch-slawischen Trinitätsdarstellungen des sog. Synthronoi- und Paternitas- (Otéchestow-)Typus," *Festschrift für W. Sas-Zaloziecky zum 60. Geburtstag* (Graz, 1956), 79ff.; S. A. Papadopoulos, "Essai d'interprétation du thème iconographique de la Paternité dans l'art byzantin," *CahArch*, 18 (1968), 132ff.

[50] Der Nersessian, *Add. 19352*, 40.

[51] *Ibid.*, 11–12.

[52] Concerning the Office in the Byzantine Church, see J. A. Lamb, *The Psalms in Christian Worship* (London, 1962), 54ff.

In spite of a few differences in details, the three images in the Theodore Psalter offer certain iconographical resemblances to the images of Christ in the crowning medallions in Paris. gr. 74. The Ancient of Days is represented accompanied by the cherubim in both the Psalter and the Gospel book. The youthful Christ bears the inscription $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ in both manuscripts, not ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ, as one would normally expect. Moreover, the fact that these two sets of images are both placed at the beginning of important divisions of the books suggests that they are essentially homogeneous. This leads me to assume that the images in the Parisinus, too, may have to be interpreted not on the basis of the Gospel text but on the basis of its liturgical character.

This assumption contradicts S. Der Nersessian's thesis that the three divine images in the crowning medallions are related to the other small medallion figures in the respective headpieces at the beginnings of the Synoptic Gospels.[53] According to her interpretation, the Ancient of Days at the beginning of the Matthew Gospel is "the Eternity, God of Abraham and Isaac," who are represented below. The figure of the youthful Christ at the beginning of the Mark Gospel is associated with the figure of the Prophet Isaiah, who, paired with John the Baptist, stands below Him, because the Prophet "predicted the birth of Christ." Christ Pantocrator in the Lukan Gospel headpiece is related to the figure of Zacharias in the same ornament, because Zacharias "speaks of the powerful Saviour coming from the House of David."[54]

However, except for the figure of Isaiah, who points to the image of the youthful Christ, no formal relationship is perceivable between the images in the crowning medallions and those below them. Our doubt is increased by the fact that the first verses of the Synoptic Gospels upon which the latter medallion figures are based do not explain their relationship to the former as Miss Der Nersessian has proposed. Matthew 1:2 says: "Abraham was the father of Isaac, Isaac of Jacob," without in any way relating the first ancestors to God Himself. On the contrary, in Matthew 1:1 it is written: "Jesus Christ, the Son of David, son of Abraham." As for Isaiah in the Mark headpiece, his prophecy on the incarnation of Christ, which is quoted in Matthew (1:23), can not be the primary reason for the presence of his figure in an illustration at the beginning of Mark's Gospel. Finally, the prophecy of Zacharias regarding the birth of Christ as the powerful Savior of Israel is told not at the beginning of the Gospel of Luke, but toward the end of the first chapter (verse 69), after the birth of John the Baptist is recounted. In fact, this passage is illustrated on folio 107$^{\text{v}}$, as Miss Der Nersessian has observed,[55] by the scene of Zacharias pointing to a bust of the Emmanuel (!) appearing in the upper left as an *imago clipeata* above the priest and the people of Israel.[56]

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[53] Expressed in her article, "Parisinus graecus 74": "D'autres figures sont également inscrites dans les médallions de ces têtes de chapître; elles représentent des personnes mentionnées au début de chaque évangile mais, ... elles ne sont pas sans rapport avec les images divines" (p. 113). "En introduisant les figures bibliques dans les têtes de chapître, où elles se trouvent rapprochées des images de la divinité, le peintre leur a donné un sens plus précis" (p. 114).

[54] *Loc. cit.*

[55] *Ibid.*, 111.

[56] Omont, *Evangiles*, pl. 95.

It is unlikely that the artist should have referred twice to the same content, in the same Gospel, with two different types of image. Thus, the relationship of the three crowning medallion figures to the other images that accompany them in the headpieces cannot be explained convincingly simply on the basis of the first verses of the Synoptic Gospels.[57]

Let us now examine a little more carefully the details of the divine images in Paris. gr. 74 and in Lond. Add. 19352. Compared with their predecessors in the Theodore Psalter, these three images in the Parisinus show several differences. The figure of the Ancient of Days is raised *above* the two celestial beings, thus conspicuously forming an image of ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ. Furthermore, the types of the celestial beings are not, as we shall soon see, exactly the same as those in the Psalter. The bust of the youthful Christ in the Psalter becomes in the Parisinus a full-length, frontally seated figure contained in a round medallion-mandorla, similar to the preceding image of the Ancient of Days and also to that of Christ Pantocrator. In short, these divine images in the Paris Gospel book are far more uniform than those in the Theodore Psalter. By means of this visual uniformity, they express the homogeneity and consubstantiality of the three manifestations of Christ more pronouncedly.

The liturgical-theophanic nature of these divine images is most clearly expressed in the figure of the Ancient of Days as ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ. This special appellation of God is used occasionally in the Old Testament, for instance in 1 Kings 4:4: "The ark of the Lord who sitteth upon the cherubim." But its theophanic character is most pronounced in Psalm 79:1–2: "Attend, O Shepherd of Israel, who guidest Joseph like a flock; thou who sittest upon the cherubim, manifest thyself [ἐμφάνηθι]." It is for these last words of the psalmist requesting God to reveal Himself that this particular passage is recited in the *prokeimenon*—the responsorial Psalm—in the Divine Liturgy.

The Mass of the Catechumens reaches its climax at the Little Entry, the entry of the Evangelion into the bema. Pseudo-Germanus, in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, tells us that the Little Entry is the enactment of the *parousia* of Christ: "The entry of the Gospel book shows the coming of the Son of God and His entry into this world, as the Apostle says...."[58] He then goes on to interpret the responsorial Psalm which follows the *trisagion* as the prediction and manifestation of the *adventus* of Christ. "After the thrice-holy hymn, the book of the Apostle is read, and the deacon says: 'Let us pay attention, let us listen, let us all give ear with a quiet spirit. Wisdom. Psalm of David.' The holy and beloved word of God announces the truths of the Father, which are hidden. The responsory tells again the revelation of the prophets, and the prophecy of the coming of Christ the King, like soldiers running forward and shouting: 'Thou who sitteth upon the cherubim, manifest thyself and come to deliver us.'"[59]

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[57] The relationship between these two groups of medallion figures will be more precisely defined in the course of the discussion that follows; see especially pp. 186–87 *infra*.

[58] Ἡ Εἴσοδος τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ἐμφαίνει τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον, ὡς λέγει ὁ Ἀπόστολος ..., PG, 98, col. 405C. A recent study of Ps.-Germanus' Commentary is found in R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VII*^{e} *au XV*^{e} *siècle* (Paris, 1966), 125ff.

It is because of this theophanic character of the *prokeimenon* that Psalm 79, which refers to the apparition of ὁ καϑήμενος, is specifically quoted by the commentator.

Yet, the important role of ὁ καϑήμενος is not limited to this part of the Mass of the Catechumens; the reading of the Epistle is followed by the *Alleluia* and the lection of the Gospel itself. The Gospel, Pseudo-Germanus says, is the ultimate manifestation of God. "The Gospel is the coming of the Son of God, when He was seen by us, no longer speaking to us through clouds and riddles, as once to Moses through voices and thunderbolts and trumpets, by sound and darkness and fire on the mountain, or to the prophets of old through dreams; but He appeared clearly as a man in reality, and was seen by us as a gentle and quiet king, who before had come down silently like dew upon a fleece."[60] The author further states: "Four are the Gospels, and four the cardinal winds, after the pattern of the quadriform beings, I mean the cherubim on whom sits the Lord of all. From this it is clear that God who sits upon the cherubim and supports the entire world, when he was revealed gave us the Gospel in four parts, supported by one spirit. For indeed they have four faces."[61] According to Pseudo-Germanus, ὁ καϑήμενος is the liturgical image of theophany par excellence and, at the same time, the most important symbol of the Gospels, which are the ultimate self-manifestation of Christ.

The liturgical-theophanic nature of the image of the Ancient of Days as ὁ καϑήμενος in Paris. gr. 74 can be proved by a closer iconographical analysis. As we have seen, the Ancient is represented enthroned above two celestial beings, each inscribed ἅγιος ἅγιος (fig. 1). S. Der Nersessian interpreted these winged figures as seraphim.[62] One should not overlook, however, the very small shape rising up from where the two upper wings of each of the two "seraphim" cross (fig. 7). This small figure is also winged and nimbed. While its back is pale blue, its chest and head, which are apparently turned toward the figure of the Ancient of Days, are white. If I am not mistaken, these two minuscule figures are eagles—one of the animals that properly belong to the cherubim. Therefore, these six-winged celestial beings are not exactly seraphim, but that composite type of seraphim and cherubim which is often seen in monumental compositions of the prophetic vision of theophany.[63] Further, Miss Der Nersessian's conclusion that these three medallion figures are inspired entirely by the vision of Isaiah must be rejected because the iconography of the Ancient of Days is based not on the Book of Isaiah but on the Book of Daniel (7:9). On the basis of these facts, we may regard these medallion figures in triangular formation as a version in miniature painting of the so-called Liturgical Majesty, which is often related to the prayer of thanksgiving in the *anaphora* in the Byzantine liturgy. However, considering the close relationship of the image of ὁ καϑήμενος to the lection of the Gospels in the Mass of the Catechumens, I am inclined to link this miniature theophany picture to the hymn of the *trisagion*, which is sung shortly after the Little Entry.[64] Especially in the liturgy of John Chrysostom, the text of the hymn alludes to the image of God dominating all the celestial powers, as does the eucharistic prayer in the *anaphora*.[65] Therefore, the inscription ἅγιος ἅγιος borne by these winged figures seems to correspond to this *trisagion* hymn rather than to the song of the choir which follows the prayer of thanksgiving.

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[59] Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Τρισάγιον ὕμνον, ἀναγινώσκεται βιβλίον ἀποστολικὸν, καὶ λέγει ὁ διάκονος· 'Πρόσχωμεν, ἀκουτισϑῶμεν, ἐνωτισϑῶμεν πάντες μετὰ ἠρέμου νοός. Σοφία. Ψαλμὸς τοῦ Δαβίδ.' 'Ο Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἀγαπητὸς, ἀναγγέλλει τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἅ εἰσιν ἀπόκρυφα. Τὸ προκείμενον μηνύει πάλιν, τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἐκφαντορίαν, καὶ τὴν προμήνυσιν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Χριστοῦ παρουσίας, ὡς στρατιῶται προτρέχοντες καὶ βοῶντες· "Ο καϑήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ ἐμφάνηϑι, καὶ ἐλϑὲ εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς.' PG, 98, col. 412A–B. Concerning the *prokeimenon* in the Mass of the catecumens, see J. Mateos, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine* (Rome, 1971), 11ff.

[60] Τὸ Εὐαγγέλιόν ἐστιν, ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καϑ' ἣν ὡράϑη ἡμῖν, οὐκέτι διὰ νεφελῶν καὶ αἰνιγμάτων λαλῶν ἡμῖν ὥσ ποτε τῷ Μωσῇ, διὰ φωνῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν καὶ σαλπίγγων, ἤχῳ καὶ γνόφῳ καὶ πυρὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, ἢ τοῖς πάλαι προφήταις, δι' ἐνυπνίων, ἀλλ' ἐμφανῶς ὡς ἄνϑρωπος ἀληϑῶς ἐφάνη, καὶ ὡράϑη ἡμῖν, ὡς πραῦς καὶ ἥσυχος βασιλεὺς, ὁ πρὶν καταβὰς ὡς ὑετὸς ἐπὶ πόκον ἀψοφητί·... PG, 98, cols. 412D–413A.

[61] Τέσσαρά εἰσιν Εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τέσσαρα καϑολικὰ πνεύματα, κατὰ τὰ τετράμορφα ζῶα, λέγω δὴ τὰ Χερουβὶμ, ἐν οἷς κάϑηται ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεός· ἐξ ὧν φαίνεται, ὅτι ὁ καϑήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ Θεός, καὶ συνέχων τὸ πᾶν, φανερωϑεὶς ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τετράμορφον τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, ἑνὶ δὲ πνεύματι συνεχόμενον· καὶ γὰρ τετραπρόσωπά εἰσι· *Ibid.*, col. 413B–C.

[62] "Parisinus graecus 74," 112.

Although the study of the three divine figures in the crowning medallions has not yet succeeded in definitely interpreting the liturgical nature of the images as an ensemble, I would like to suggest here that this triple image may perhaps reflect this *trisagion* hymn, which stresses the thrice-holiness of Christ. Besides, it is to be noted that, according to Pseudo-Germanus' interpretation of the *proskomide*, the three modes of God—the Ancient of Days in his preexistence, His Son incarnated in the Virgin at the end of time, and Christ who was crucified—respectively represent the different stages in the history of the salvation of mankind. Such a soteriological interpretation may explain the combination as well as the order of the three images both in the Theodore Psalter and in Paris. gr. 74.[66]

The Pseudo-Germanus' text interpreting the quadripartite structure of the Gospels is a variation of the Preface to the Gospels which, as I have mentioned before, is often found in Byzantine Tetraevangela.[67] The Preface is sometimes illustrated with the majestic representation of the epiphany of ὁ καϑήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ, as, for instance, in the Parma Gospel book. However, this specific image of ὁ καϑήμενος is not limited to the illustration of the Gospels Preface. A very similar, iconographically more complicated composition is found at the very beginning of the lectionary in Athens (Nat. Lib. codex 2645), which I have discussed before. This Lectionary, unlike the Gospel texts in many Tetraevangela manuscripts, has no Irenaean Preface. The miniature on folio 1^{r} immediately precedes the first pericope in the synaxary (John 1:1) and has no relation to the Irenaean text. Hence, there is no doubt that the presence of ὁ καϑήμενος at the beginning of this Lectionary is justified only by its liturgical nature. In other words, these theophanic scenes are a visual interpretation of the liturgical-theophanic nature of the Gospel lection in the Divine Liturgy.

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[63] D. I. Pallas, "Eine Differenzierung unter den himmlischen Ordnungen (ikonographische Analyse)," *BZ*, 64 (1971), 55ff.; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Théophanies-visions auxquelles participent les prophètes dans l'art byzantin après la restauration des images," *Synthronon*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, II (Paris, 1968), 139.

[64] Both G. Jerphanion, *La voix des monuments* (Paris-Brussels, 1930), 250f., and F. van der Meer, *Maiestas Domini* (Rome-Paris, 1938), 267ff., called this prayer in the *anaphora* "the introduction to *trisagion*." The same terminology has been applied more recently by Lafontaine-Dosogne, *op. cit.*, 139. Yet the term is obviously misleading because, in the Byzantine liturgy, τρισάγιον indicates the prayer and the chant between the Little Entry and the lection in the Mass of the Catechumens. B. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1896), 313f.; Mateos, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine*, 91ff.; *idem*, *Le typicon de la Grande Eglise*, II, OCA, 166 (Rome, 1963), 322. Ch. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 48–49, and Pallas, *op. cit.*, 59, are more cautious about the terminology.

[65] Cf. Brightman, *op. cit.*, 313f., 322f., and 384f.

[66] Οὕτως ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατήρ, ὁ ἄναρχος καὶ Παλαιὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν, τὸν ἀνάρχοντα Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων, σαρκωϑέντα ἐκ τῆς Παρϑένου καὶ Θεοτόκου, ἐκ τῆς ὀσφύος 'Αβραὰμ κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ ὅρκου οὗ ἔϑηκε πρὸς αὐτόν. Ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ γένους ἀνϑρώπου, . . . καὶ ἔπαϑε μὲν ὡς ἄνϑρωπος ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ, ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν ἀπαϑὴς ἐν τῇ ϑεότητι. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπερχόμενος ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ αὐτοῦ, ἐβάσταζε τὸν σταυρόν. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, PG, 98, col. 396C–D; G. Millet, *La dalmatique du Vatican* (Paris, 1945), 42f.

On the basis of the above observations, I am justified in considering the three divine images in the crowning medallions in Paris. gr. 74 not so much as a part of the narrative illustration, but rather as the expression of the theophanic nature of the Gospel and its liturgical function. The triple image ought to be properly designated as liturgical-theophanic.

Let us now turn to the three medallion figures in the headpiece of the Fourth Gospel (fol. 167^{r}; fig. 4). Because of their similarity to the figures in the crowning medallions of the first three headpieces, no one has yet pointed out that they differ from these in various details. First, the Ancient of Days in the headpiece of John's Gospel is no longer ὁ καϑήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ but is a single figure, like the other two flanking it. Second, all three figures are seated on backless thrones, while two of the figures in the crowning medallions—the Ancient of Days and Christ Pantocrator at the beginning of Matthew and Luke respectively—are seated on sumptuous thrones with backs. Third, I should point out, with some caution, that, while the nimbus of the Ancient of Days in the Matthew headpiece is so much effaced that it is hard to determine whether or not it is cruciform (the nimbus of the Ancient in the Theodore Psalter is likewise much effaced and the cross in it is hardly discernible), those of the three images in the John headpiece clearly show the cruciform shape incised in the golden ground. Finally, the gestures of these three figures are exactly the same, whereas, among the three preceding images, the youthful Christ and the Pantocrator extend their hands in blessing while the Ancient of Days holds his hand to his breast. In short, the divine images in the headpiece of the Fourth Gospel are far more uniform than those of the Synoptic Gospels, not to mention those of the Theodore Psalter. It is hazardous to attempt to define the subtle character of the images only on the basis of these iconographical details. Nevertheless, I should like to suggest that the three images of John's Gospel express the homogeneity of the three manifestations of Christ even more pronouncedly than those in the Synoptic Gospels. On the other hand, they do lack the dramatic aspects that can be observed in the three liturgical-theophanic images.

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[67] See p. 173f. and note 27 *supra*.

These three images have been said to illustrate the first verses of the Gospel of John.[68] While this interpretation is quite plausible, their pictorial sources have not yet been investigated in a sufficiently concrete way. Therefore, keeping in mind the subtle but important formal distinctions I have just pointed out, I shall begin my investigation with a reexamination of some of the iconographical comparisons made by previous scholars.

The first of these is in the illustration of the excerpt from the homily of St. Basil, *De fide*, incorporated in the first chapter of John of Damascus' *Sacra Parallela* on the Trinity, in the codex in Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 923, folio 40r.[69] S. Der Nersessian complemented A. Grabar's previous discussion with the observation that, although the miniature accompanies the homily text, its iconography is based on a passage of Acts (7:55ff.) which is actually quoted on the same page of the *Sacra Parallela* manuscript, shortly before Basil's homily.[70] This passage tells the story of the protomartyr Stephen, who, before his martyrdom, "being full of the Holy Ghost," witnessed "the glory of God and Jesus standing at the right hand of God." The iconography of this miniature is apparently modified to fit the homily text; not only are there no figures of the persecutors, but also the witnessing figure of Stephen lacks a nimbus, so that he looks not so much like the protomartyr as like any ordinary member of the faithful in prayer. Nevertheless, the unusual iconography of Christ standing at the side of God within the same mandorla, as well as the ecstatic gesture of the contemplator can be explained only on the basis of the passage in Acts.

Contrary to Grabar's description of the two divine figures in the mandorla as being identical except for their age,[71] there are decisive differences between them. First, Christ stands at the side of the Ancient of Days, who is seated on his throne. This not only faithfully illustrates the passage from Acts but also visually expresses the difference in rank between the Father and the Son. Second, and more important, the Ancient of Days has a plain nimbus, while the nimbus of Christ is clearly cruciform, which distinguishes the two persons beyond all doubt. Given these differences, this representation of Christ and the Ancient of Days can not be regarded as the immediate pictorial source for the triple image at the beginning of the Fourth Gospel in Paris. gr. 74.

The second example quoted by Grabar and Der Nersessian is the miniature illustrating the first verses of the Gospel of John in another Gospel book in the Bibliothèque Nationale, from the mid-eleventh century, gr. 64, fol. 158v.[72]

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[68] Der Nersessian, "Parisinus graecus 74," 113.

[69] Lazarev, *Storia*, 113; Grabar, "La représentation de l'intelligible" (see note 1 *supra*), I, 54, 56; III, pl. 10a.

[70] Der Nersessian, "Parisinus graecus 74," 112.

[71] "La représentation de l'intelligible," 54: "Les deux figures sont identiques, sauf sur un point: les cheveux du Père sont blancs tandis que ceux du Fils sont bruns."

[72] Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. LXXXVI; Lazarev, *Storia*, 141; Grabar, "La représentation de l'intelligible," *loc. cit.*; Der Nersessian, "Parisinus graecus 74," *loc. cit.*

This provides a far better comparison to our three medallion figures. Evidently this miniature belongs to an iconographical tradition completely different from that of the *Sacra Parallela* illustration. Unlike the images in the latter, the Ancient of Days and Christ are each in a separate mandorla. It would be risky to say that the two figures are "absolutely identical," because there are certain differences in the color of their costumes and mandorlas as well as in their gestures. Yet, they are far more homogeneous than those in the *Sacra Parallela* manuscript. Both sit upon rainbows and, most important, unlike the double image in the *Sacra Parallela,* both have a cruciform nimbus. It would appear that the illustrator of Paris. gr. 64 intended to represent the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son or, perhaps, even the two different modes of one and the same Christ, whereas the artist of the *Sacra Parallela* wanted to express visually the two different *personae.*

What is the correct relationship between these two images and the Gospel text they accompany? Scholars have hardly agreed on this point. Grabar interpreted the images on the basis of John 1:1, whereas Miss Der Nersessian connected them with verses 4–5 of the same chapter. On the other hand, both scholars isolated the two images from the scene at the bottom of the same page which represents John the Baptist and a group of Jews. Gabriel Millet instead regarded the top and bottom figures as an integral picture based on John 1:6–8 concerning John's witness of the Light of the World.[73]

The examination of the miniatures on this page seems, at first, to justify Millet's interpretation. John the Baptist is represented in such a way that his eyes are directed toward the images of Christ above. He tilts his head up slightly, and makes an exalted gesture with his right hand, "le geste des orants," as Millet described it. These features are often seen in the portrayal of one who is witnessing a mystic vision or receiving divine inspiration from heaven.

Millet went further. According to him, verses 6–8 are illustrated also in Paris. gr. 74, on folio 167^{v}.[74] But, he said, in this miniature the original iconography is so abridged and distorted that the double image of Christ of the "original" composition, which may have been similar to the one in Paris. gr. 64, has been transferred into the frontispiece miniature of the Gospel, and has become the three medallion figures in the headpiece of folio 167^{r}. The figure of Christ at the left of the composition on fol. 167^{v}, advancing toward the Prodromos who witnesses to Him at the right, is an addition to the "original" composition.

This interpretation seems to me most unlikely. One can hardly imagine why the illustrator found it necessary to divide the scene into two completely different types of composition, and, especially, to change the essential feature of the "original" iconography. In my opinion, and in complete contrast to Millet's thesis, the scenes in Paris. gr. 74 must represent the version that is closer to the original. This can be proved by the example found in another Tetraevangelon in Paris (Bibl. Nat., gr. 115), which is dated by many scholars to the tenth century.[75] The scene on folio 366ʳ illustrates verses 6–8 of the first chapter of the Gospel of John. Millet regarded it as belonging to a recension different from that to which he believed both Paris. gr. 64 and gr. 74 belong.[76] But he overlooked the fact that the scene in Paris. gr. 115 is essentially similar to that on folio 167ᵛ of Paris. gr. 74, except that the whole composition is completely reversed, so that Christ is on the right. Now, we know that a narrative composition can often be reversed in the process of being copied. Therefore, I should like to suggest that the two miniatures, in Paris. gr. 74 and Paris. gr. 115, not only illustrate verses 6–8, but belong to the same recension. I am also inclined to assume that the composition from which they derive did not include any transcendental image of Christ of the kind seen on folio 158ᵛ in Paris. gr. 64.

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[73] Millet, *Recherches* (see note 6 *supra*), 187.

[74] Cf. Omont, *Evangiles*, pl. 143.

As regards the entire illustration on this folio 158ᵛ, it is my definite belief that the double image of Christ-Logos in the upper part of the page and that of John the Baptist and the Jews in the lower were originally two independent scenes, illustrating respectively verse 1 and verses 6–8. Still, Millet's observation that the two scenes constitute here an integral picture remains true. We must assume that the artist of Paris. gr. 64 deliberately fused two different scenes, thereby creating a new type of iconography: that of the Prodromos witnessing the apparition of Christ-Logos in heaven. I have already noted two examples in which Christ's apparition in heaven is being witnessed by a figure, or figures, standing below. The illustration in the *Sacra Parallela* manuscript in Paris is one of them. Iconographically, however, the headpiece miniature in the Athens Lectionary, codex 2645 (see *supra*, p. 173; fig. 6), provides a better comparison with the scene in Paris. gr. 64, since both pictures concern the first passage of the Gospel of John. In this Lectionary the apparition of ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ is witnessed by John the Evangelist, Peter, and Paul. The illustration of John 1:18 in a lectionary on Mt. Athos (Dionysiu 587, fol. 3ᵛ) presents another interesting comparison.[77] In the letter Θ, with which verse 18 begins, there is represented the Ancient of Days with white hair and beard. Yet, his nimbus is crossed, an indication that what we have here is the image of Christ in His preexistence. In his bosom is Christ, depicted as an adolescent. Below this "paternal" image stands John the Evangelist, who raises his hand to witness the divine apparition. The letter Θ is drawn as a circle so that it looks like a round mandorla.

The artist of Paris. gr. 64 must have used a model which contained both the illustration of verse 1 and that of verses 6–8. The latter may have been just as realistic as we see it now in Paris. gr. 74. But the illustrator of Paris. gr. 64 deliberately fused these two independent scenes into one dramatic picture of the theophany witnessed by the Prodromos. In doing so, he showed that he shared with his contemporaries a serious concern about the image of Christophany. This mystical enthusiasm produced pictures of theophany witnessed by saints, especially for the illustrations of liturgical texts, as we have observed in the two lectionaries Athen. 2645 and Dionysiu 587. My assumption does not contradict the basic character of the illustrations in Paris. gr. 64 which often include liturgical elements integrated with naturalistic, narrative representations, like the scene on folio 64^{v} where John the Baptist is baptizing the Jews in the Jordan, with an acolyte standing by holding a candle.[78]

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[75] Ch. Paschou, "Les peintures dans un Tétraévangile de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris: le grec 115 (Xᵉ siècle)," *CahArch*, 22 (1972), 61 ff. Miss Paschou's article deals mainly with the scenes in the Gospel of Matthew which are better visible. Cf., in addition, H. Omont, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1898), 14; Millet, *Recherches*, 4 and *passim*; A. Grabar, *Miniatures byzantines de la Bibl. Nationale* (Paris, 1939), pls. 29, 31, 32; K. Weitzmann, *Illustration in Roll and Codex* (Princeton, 1947), 115.

[76] Millet, *Recherches*, 186, fig. 151.

[77] Weitzmann, "The Constantinopolitan Lectionary, Morgan 639" (see note 20 *supra*), 365, fig. 294; *idem*, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century" (see note 6 *supra*), 294, fig. 295; Pelekanidis, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 19), fig. 191.

To return to the triple image in our manuscript, I have said that the best comparison for it is furnished by the double image of Christ in Paris. gr. 64. Both pictures are essentially similar in their representations of the perfect consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. However, from an art historian's viewpoint, it is difficult to believe that the triple image could have developed from the double one. In addition, there are obvious iconographical differences between the two sets of images. We should, therefore, be cautious on the one hand to regard the illustration of John 1:1 in Paris. gr. 64 as the direct pictorial source for the triple image in the headpiece of John's Gospel in Paris. gr. 74. On the other hand, the three images, of the Ancient, of the Emmanuel, and of Christ Pantocrator, at the beginnings of the Synoptic Gospels are obviously closer to those in the headpiece to the Fourth Gospel in the same manuscript, and could well have been their immediate models. Naturally, the illustrator carefully modified the details of the models in order to make them compatible with the traditional interpretation of the first verse of the Gospel of John, and thus emphasize visually the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son.

The text of John 1:1–14 alludes not only to the consubstantiality of Christ with the Father but also to His Incarnation. This seems to have been sufficient reason for replacing the original double image with the triple one, which includes Christ Emmanuel. However, we should consider the possibility that the Byzantine illustrator could have been inspired not so much by textual prescription as by some pictorial precedent. Here again, the illustration of John 1:18 in lectionary illustrations of the kind we find in the Dionysiu Lectionary must have played an important role as the source of inspiration. The double figure depicted within the initial Θ in this Lectionary represents without doubt the three different modes of Christ. As H. Gerstinger has proved, such a double image of the Father and the Son may well be the prototype of the "paternal" type in the Byzantine iconography of the Trinity as we see it in the miniature in John Climacus, Vat. gr. 394, folio 7^{r}.[79] Therefore, it would not be too hazardous to assume that the existence of this proto-trinitarian iconography in lectionary illustrations promoted the introduction of the triple image of the Ancient of Days, Emmanuel, and Pantocrator to illustrate the first verses of the Gospel of John.

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[78] Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. LXXXV.

[79] J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton, 1954), 49ff., fig. 70; Gerstinger, "Trinitätsdarstellungen" (see note 49 *supra*).

My observations on the medallion figures in the four headpieces in Paris. gr. 74 can be summed up as follows. First, the medallions within square headpieces definitely developed from purely ornamental floral motifs found especially in liturgical manuscripts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. While the iconography and composition of the medallion figures in the headpieces became increasingly complex toward the middle of the twelfth century, the central theme was always the Christophany through the mystery of the Divine Liturgy. The headpieces in Paris. gr. 74 can be placed in the middle of this development of the figurative medallions from their origin in ornaments into hieratic representation of theophany. The liturgical-theophanic nature of the medallion figures is clearly represented by the three divine images at the top of the first three headpieces of the Synoptic Gospels, especially by the image of ὁ καϑήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ.

Second, the triple image of Christ in the headpiece of the Fourth Gospel was obviously modeled after the preceding three. Yet, before any such triple image was introduced, a double image of the Father and the Son, illustrating the first verse of the Gospel of John, was already in existence. This double image, of a primarily narrative character, was then replaced by the triple one, which was liturgical-theophanic in essence. Because it was inserted into a narrative cycle, the triple image had to be altered in some details to accord with the content of the text of John 1:1, so as to stress visually the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. Nevertheless, the divine images at the beginning of the Fourth Gospel did not cease to express their liturgical-theophanic or even contemplative nature. The fact that the replacing of the original narrative iconography with the liturgical one was very likely inspired by lectionary illustrations, above all the illustration of John 1:18, Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε ..., is an indication of the artist's concern with the vision of the invisible through participation in the Divine Liturgy.

In illustrating the very beginnings of the four Gospels, the artist certainly sought to express visually their theophanic nature. Consequently, all the medallion figures should be interpreted on the basis of this deeply rooted desire for the vision of Christophany. We should conclude that all the prophets, priests, and ancestors represented in the medallions under the divine images not only illustrate the first verses of the Synoptic Gospels but also witness the theophany of the preexistent Christ. Thus, the figure of Isaiah in the headpiece of Mark's Gospel can be interpreted primarily as witnessing the apparition of the Emmanuel rather than as predicting the Incarnation of Christ. The discussion that follows will further clarify this point.

THE GENEALOGY PICTURES IN THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

COMPOSITION

The medallion figures of Abraham and Isaac in the headpiece of the Gospel of Matthew are followed in the subsequent pages by a series of miniatures illustrating the Genealogy of Christ in Matthew 1:1–17 (fol. 1ᵛ, fig. 8; fol. 2ʳ, fig. 9; fol. 2ᵛ, fig. 10).[80] The Genealogy illustration in Paris. gr. 74 does not stand alone in eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscript illustration. For instance, the Tetraevangelon in Florence (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. VI.23) has a very simple, condensed representation of the ancestors of Christ on folio 5ʳ and 5ᵛ.[81] In accordance with verse 17, the figures of the ancestors are gathered into three groups, each of which contains—or, to speak more correctly, is intended to contain—the fourteen figures representing the fourteen generations.

In comparison with this compact representation in the Florentine Gospel book, the Genealogy illustration in the Paris Gospel book is far more complex. First, while the former includes all three times the fourteen figures listed in the Gospel text, the latter is selective. In the axial positions of the five successive miniatures, we find Jacob the patriarch of Israel and his son Judah on folio 1ᵛ, King David and King Solomon on folio 2ʳ, and another 'Ιακώβ on folio 2ᵛ (with whom I shall deal more specifically later). These central figures are all accompanied by inscriptions with their names. After the last miniature with the second 'Ιακώβ, the First Dream of Joseph the carpenter is represented on folio 3ʳ with a rather unusual iconography (fig. 11).[82]

Before discussing the iconography of the Genealogy pictures I would like to examine their formal characteristics. It immediately strikes the eye that these miniatures are composed in a very rigid, symmetrical scheme. This sort of hieratic frieze composition is found in a number of narrative scenes in our Gospel book. In this respect, I agree with Miss Dufrenne's observation that not only the composition but also the movement of the figures tends to be "hieratic and monotonous," in contrast to the livelier and more naturalistic treatment found in the London Theodore Psalter (Add. 19352).[83]

I would not, however, attribute this particular stylistic tendency to the format of the miniatures—a narrow frieze inserted into the single wide column. Also in the Florentine Gospel book, for instance, dense narrative illustrations are enclosed in narrow friezes and inserted into the text columns. But here the movement of the figures and the composition of each scene are much more vigorous and naturalistic than in the Paris Tetraevangelon.

On the other hand, as Weitzmann has proved, Byzantine artists often transformed a narrative representation of a Biblical scene into a more hieratic, symmetrical one.[84] This deliberate alteration was practiced under various circumstances, but undoubtedly there was a constant desire to emphasize visually the dogmatic as well as the liturgical aspects of Biblical events. This was especially true in the latter half of the Macedonian period, when, after the end of Iconoclasm, theological and liturgical erudition reached its high point. This new trend first became noticeable in the illustrations of liturgical books such as lectionaries, menologia, psalters, liturgical homilies, etc., and primarily it exerted its influence on the illustrations of the Gospels. The tendency toward hieratic representation that can be observed in the Parisinus may well be an indication of the artist's concern for the dogmatic and liturgical implications of the Gospel narratives.

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[80] Omont, *Evangiles*, pls. 2, 3, and 4.

[81] Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne* (see note 1 *supra*), pl. 6, figs. 7, 8, and 9.

[82] Omont, *Evangiles*, pl. 4.

[83] Dufrenne, "Deux chefs-d'œuvre de la miniature du XIᵉ siècle" (see note 1 *supra*), 179–80.

[84] Weitzmann, "Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustration" (see note 35 *supra*), 260ff.

A study of the Genealogy pictures in this manuscript will reveal details of the creative process of hieratic composition. As Weitzmann observed, certain compositions based on specific Biblical subjects played significant roles as models in the recasting of Gospel scenes into hieratic forms. Some of the monumental compositions of the Mission of the Apostles provide the best evidence of this process.[85] In the Lectionary Dionysiu 587 there are two different representations of the Mission. The one on folio 167^r is a very faithful rendering of the narrative elements in the Gospel text.[86] The artist not only composed the whole scene in perfect accordance with the Gospel description (Matt. 28:16–20) but also correctly depicted the two different kinds of psychological reactions of the Apostles, who were seeing the resurrected Christ for the first time. In contrast, the other picture of the Mission on folio 32^v in the same manuscript, has a conspicuously hieratic character. Christ occupies the center of the composition and is represented as much taller than the Apostles, who are divided into two equal groups flanking Him.[87]

This second composition of the Mission apparently influenced the scene of Christ Teaching in the Synagogue in the Vatican Menologion of Basil II (gr. 1613, p. 1).[88] Weitzmann suggested that the illustrator of the Menologion applied the compositional scheme of the Mission picture in his first miniature because, normally, the Mission picture is found at the end of the synaxary, i.e., it directly precedes the menologion.[89] I shall return to this problem shortly.

The hieratic composition of the Mission in the Dionysiu Lectionary is not the first example of this kind. The earliest extant example of an illustrated lectionary, the Leningrad codex Publ. Lib. gr. 21, from the middle of the tenth century, contains a full-page miniature of the Mission of the Apostles (fol. 11^r), which is even more rigid and ritualistic than that in the Dionysiu Lectionary.[90] A further example of this compositional scheme is found in the famous manuscript of Gregory's homilies in Paris (Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 510, fol. 426^v, top), from 880–83.[91] The Mission pictures in these Lectionaries on

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[85] *Ibid.*, 263f.

[86] *Ibid.*, fig. 252; Pelekanidis, *op. cit.*, fig. 273.

[87] Weitzmann, "Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustration," fig. 251; Pelekanidis, *op. cit.*, fig. 206.

[88] *Il menologio di Basilio II*, II (Turin, 1907), 1.

[89] Weitzmann, "Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustration," 265f.

[90] Lazarev, *Storia*, 139f.; C. R. Morey, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures," *ArtB*, 11 (1929), 53ff., fig. 71.

[91] Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. LVI.

Mt. Athos and in Leningrad are considered to have been modeled on monumental paintings. Although no such observation was made in regard to the Mission miniature in Paris. gr. 510, there is good reason to believe that this picture was not specifically created for the homily text but was introduced from some other pictorial source, since no relation between the image and the text can be established. In a recent study I wrote on the Gospel scenes in Paris. gr. 510, I attempted to prove that, as is the case with other Gospel scenes in this manuscript, the Mission picture may derive from some earlier, now lost, illustration.[92]

The first of the Genealogy illustrations we are now dealing with, the portrait of Jacob patriarch of Israel flanked by twelve figures, shows interesting similarities to the Mission miniature in Paris. gr. 510. As in the homily illustration, the figures flanking the central one form long, isocephalic rows. Moreover, Jacob is represented in a hieratic posture, boldly extending his right hand in blessing with a gesture that is almost identical to that of Christ in Paris. 510; and some of the figures that flank him are busily engaged in conversation, gesticulating like some of the Apostles. Unquestionably, these features are indispensable in the iconography of the Mission, but they have no significance in the portrait of the ancestor. It is true that in several other details the Mission picture in the Paris Gregory differs from our portrait of Jacob: the number of the flanking Apostle figures is eleven; and the two Apostles standing on either side of Christ are bowing low. Aside from these points, however, the two miniatures resemble each other to a considerable extent.

The second Genealogy picture on the same folio, representing Judah flanked by twelve figures, must have been formed in a similar manner. In this case, however, the composition is much closer to that of the Mission picture in the Dionysiu Lectionary, fol. 32^{v}, and even more to the scene of Christ Teaching in the Synagogue in the Vatican Menologion, p. 1, a derivative, as I have said, of a hieratic compositional type of the Mission of the Apostles.

Those who engage in the study of Byzantine manuscript illustrations often become aware of the fact that when a particular pictorial form, especially a composition, derived from one scene is applied to another, a somewhat analogous relationship between the two scenes can be established in their meaning, even if their subject matter apparently differs. Such a semantic-morphological relation can be studied in two miniatures of the Dionysiu Lectionary. The compositions of the two pictures, the first on folio 14^{v} (fig. 12) and the second on folio 158^{v} (fig. 13), are in each case considerably hieratic and symmetrical, indeed much like the Mission picture on folio 32^{v} of the same manuscript.[93] The first scene illustrates John 20:19ff., Christ's first appearance to the Apostles after His Resurrection, and the second, Matthew 16:13–19, where it is told how it was revealed (ἀπεκάλυψεν) by His Father in Heaven that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the living God. Both stories deal with the manifestation of the divine nature of Christ to the Apostles. Possibly, an analogous relationship of subject matter and iconography could be shown to exist between the Mission picture in the Dionysiu Lectionary and the scene of Christ being given the book of Isaiah in the synagogue in the Vatican Menologion. In this case, the composition of the first appearance of Christ to the Apostles after the Resurrection could easily have been adapted to the scene of Christ's first public appearance.

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[92] S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus: Paris Gr. 510. A Study of the Connections between Text and Images," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 197ff., esp. 221; S. Tsuji, "The Gospel Scenes in the Illustration to the Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris, Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 510. Pt. 1: The Iconography," *Bijutsushi*, 20, 2–3 (1970) (in Japanese with an English summary), 45ff., 115ff.

[93] Pelekanidis, *op. cit.*, figs. 199 and 257.

Considering that in the first part of the present study, that concerning the medallion figures in the headpieces in Paris. gr. 74, we concluded that the biblical figures in the medallions not only predict the Incarnation of Christ but also witness the Theophany, it will not be too difficult to understand why the illustrator of our Gospel book deliberately adapted the composition of the most prominent and popular theophany picture—the Mission of the Apostles—to the portraits of the ancestors of Christ. For a Byzantine artist of the eleventh century, the ancestors were not mere historical figures, but were the witnesses of the mystery of the Incarnation of Christ as ὁ ἄναρχος.

I should like now to point out that the two miniatures on folio 1v are not inserted haphazardly into the text column, but are carefully arranged in such a way that the whole page, the pictures as well as the text, forms a unified composition. Since the width of the miniatures is almost the same as that of the text column, the pictures and the text taken together form a large but clear composition consisting of a succession of horizontal registers. This horizontal structure of the page design is further emphasized by the two lines of large uncial script at the top. The illustrator has then deliberately broken the second line of uncial script in the middle by placing a large disc containing a cruciform floral motif just above the head of Jacob the patriarch. This ornamental disc, together with the two central figures in the two frieze-like compositions below, emphasizes the vertical axis of the page. With this layout, the whole page is governed by a strictly symmetrical hieratic scheme consisting of several horizontal lines and a single, but clearly marked, vertical line in the center.

This compositional scheme is very similar to that governing a number of monumental theophany pictures. The apse decoration in S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna is in some ways comparable with the upper part of the overall design of our page, with its large disc containing a cross which surmounts the symmetrical frieze having a tall figure in the axial position.[94] Fresco decorations with liturgical theophany pictures, such as the one found in chapel XVII of the monastery of Apollo at Bawit, are also governed by the same scheme.[95] In particular, in this fresco at Bawit the formal relationship between Christ in a large mandorla in the upper zone and the tall central figure of the Virgin flanked by the Apostles in the lower zone is again similar to that between the ornamental disc and the ancestors' portraits below it in our manuscript.

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[94] F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Geschichte und Monumente* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 257ff., pl. 383, and *passim*.

[95] Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei* (see note 64 *supra*), 98ff., 201f., pl. XXIII,1.

One can easily imagine how Byzantine artists could create increasingly larger and more complex monumental compositions by means of successive symmetrical friezes. In spite of several irregularities in the lower registers, which are caused by the very nature of the iconography, monumental Last Judgment pictures, too, could be composed, essentially, with the same working method. As the illustration on folio 51^{v} in our Gospel book shows, Christ in the mandorla flanked by the tribunal of the Apostles at the top[96] strongly reminds us of Early Christian frieze compositions with Christ among the twelve Apostles. On the other hand, the mandorla, the stream of fire, the Hetoimasia, and the angel with scales in the lowest zone conspicuously stress the vertical axis.

The entire page composition of folio 2^{r} in Paris. gr. 74 reflects the same principle. In the upper part of the page stands the figure of King David. The illustrator has deliberately reserved the axial position of the page for this standing figure and for this purpose has broken the first six text lines exactly in the middle, disregarding the fact that this disrupts the text. This axial line is continued in the center of the lower portion of the text column with the figure of Solomon, flanked by the twelve kings of Israel. The composition here is very similar to that of the preceding group portraits of ancestors, the main difference being that Solomon is seated on his throne, whereas Jacob and Judah are standing.

Interestingly enough, the best extant parallel to this royal portrait is found in the upper zone of the *parousia* picture in a Psalter in the Vatican Library (cod. gr. 752, folio 27^{v}).[97] Here Christ, as ὁ Χριστὸς καϑήμενος ἐπὶ τὸν ϑρόνον δόξης, is seated in the center of the register, flanked by archangels wearing the courtly costume with loros. The inscription at Christ's feet reads: ἡ δευτέρη παρουσία, which clearly indicates that this is a type of Last Judgment iconography. As Grabar has pointed out, imperial elements are often inserted and fused into eschatological iconography.[98] It is possible that the illustrator of the Parisinus was inspired by an eschatological picture of that type.

It should be noted, too, that the formal relationship between the standing figure of David in the upper part of the page and the imperial figures in the isocephalic frieze in the lower part is again suggestive of monumental compositions with a two-zone theophany picture.

The analysis of the entire page compositions of folios 1^{v} and 2^{r} proves that they are based on the same scheme found in double-zoned theophany pictures. The comparison with the Bawit fresco representing the Virgin in the center of the lower zone is of special importance, because her presence definitely refers

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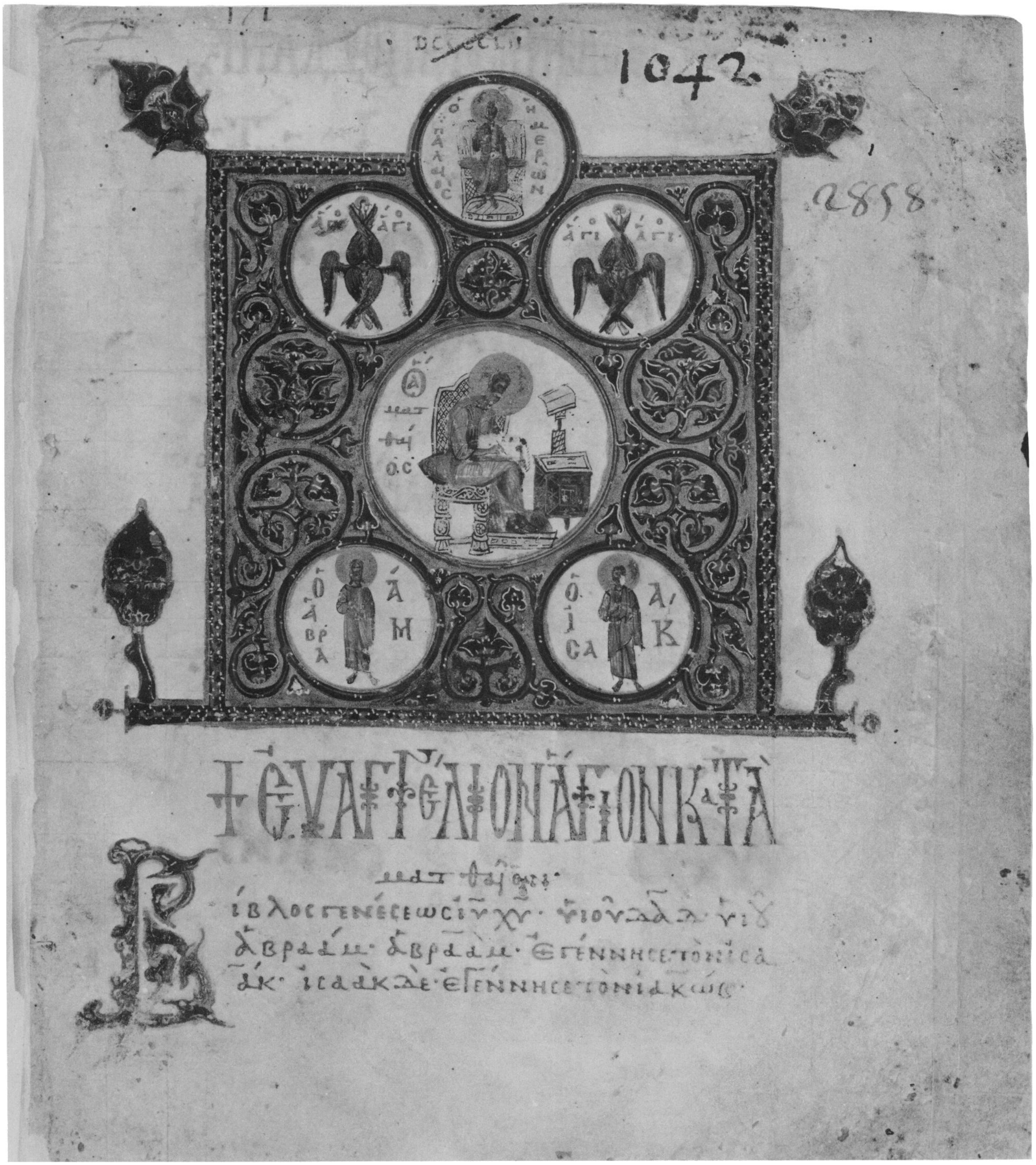
[96] Omont, *Evangiles*, pl. 41.

[97] De Wald, *Vaticanus graecus 752*, pl. XVI.

[98] A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), 249ff.

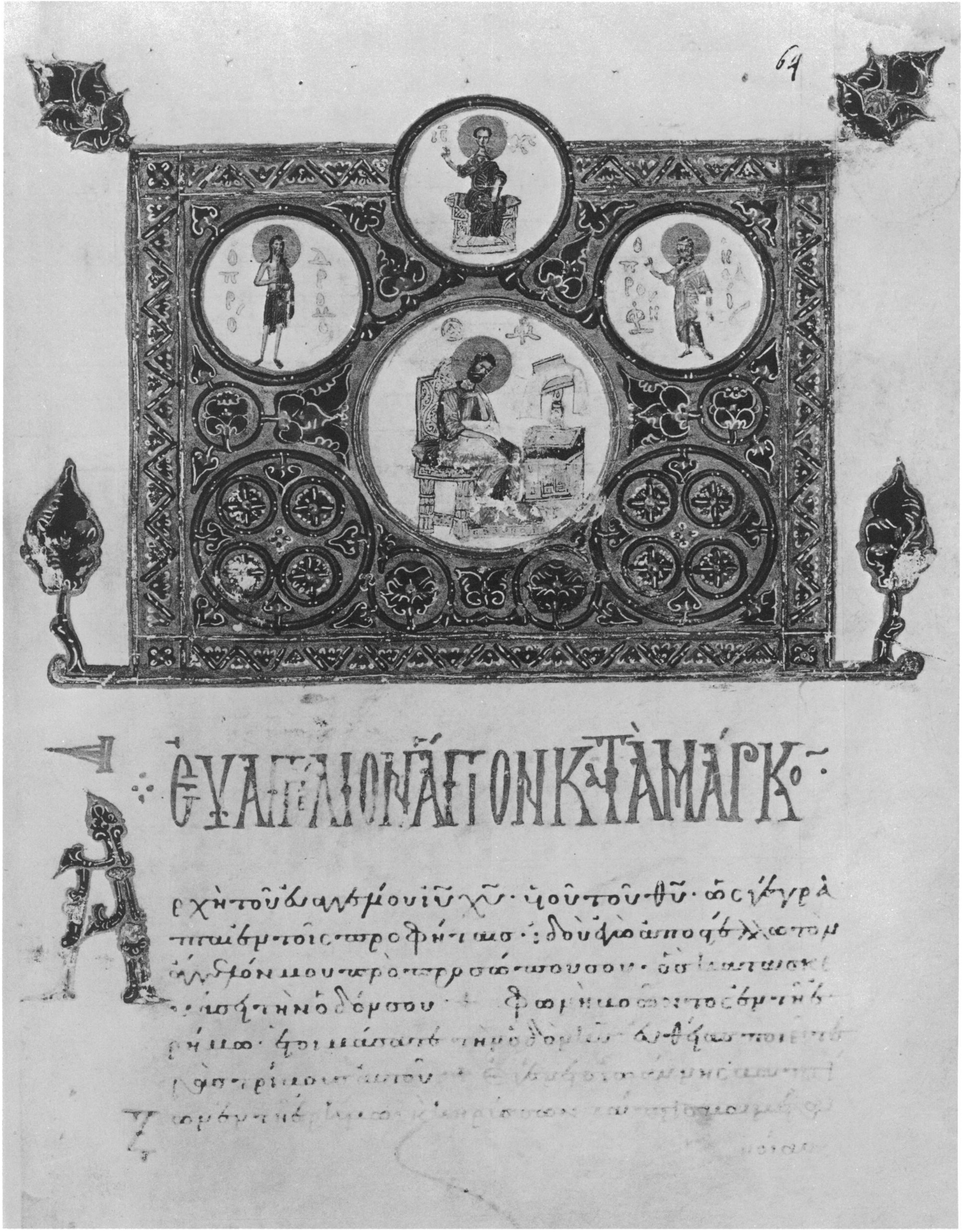

DCCCLII
1042
2858
Ο ΠΑΛΑΙΟΣ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ
Ο ΑΓΙ
Ο ΑΓΙ
Ο ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ
Ο ΑΒΡΑΑΜ
Ο ΙΣΑΑΚ

+ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ

ματθαῖον:

Βίβλος γενέσεως ἰυ̅ χυ̅· υἱοῦ δα̅δ υἱοῦ ἀβραάμ· ἀβραὰμ ἐγέννησε τὸν ἰσαάκ· ἰσαὰκ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν ἰακώβ·

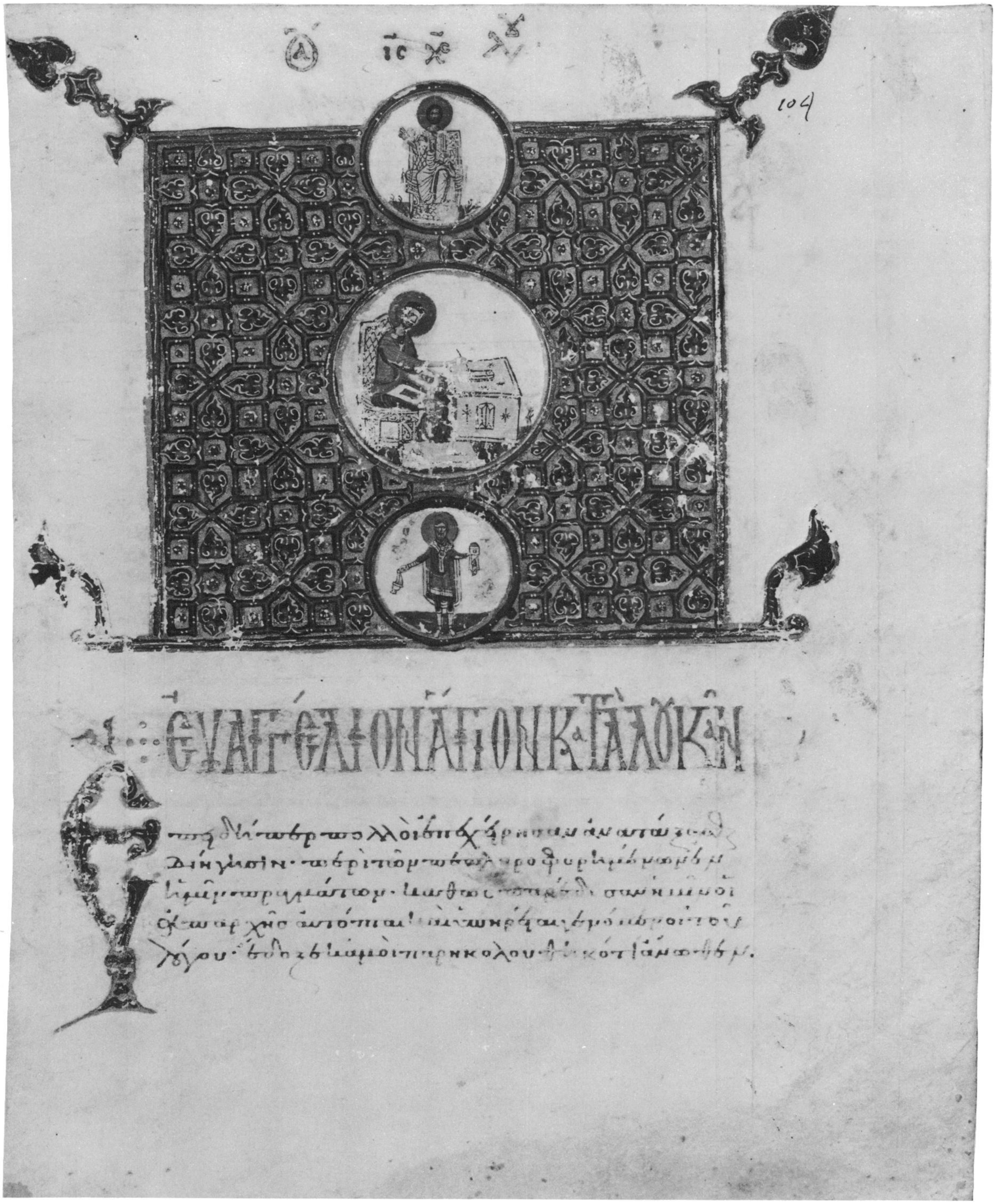
1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 74, fol. 1r



64

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ

2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 74, fol. 64r



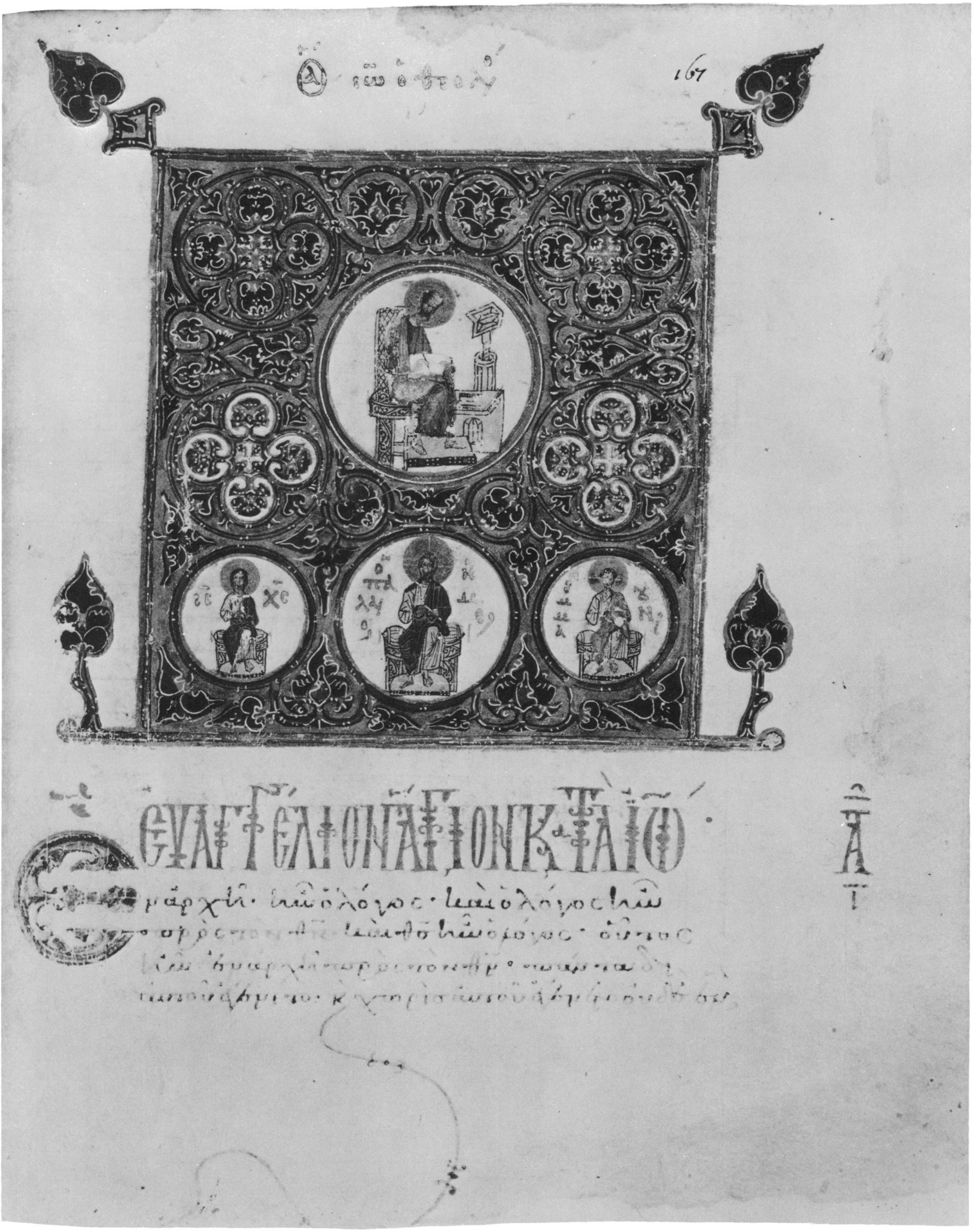
ις χς

104

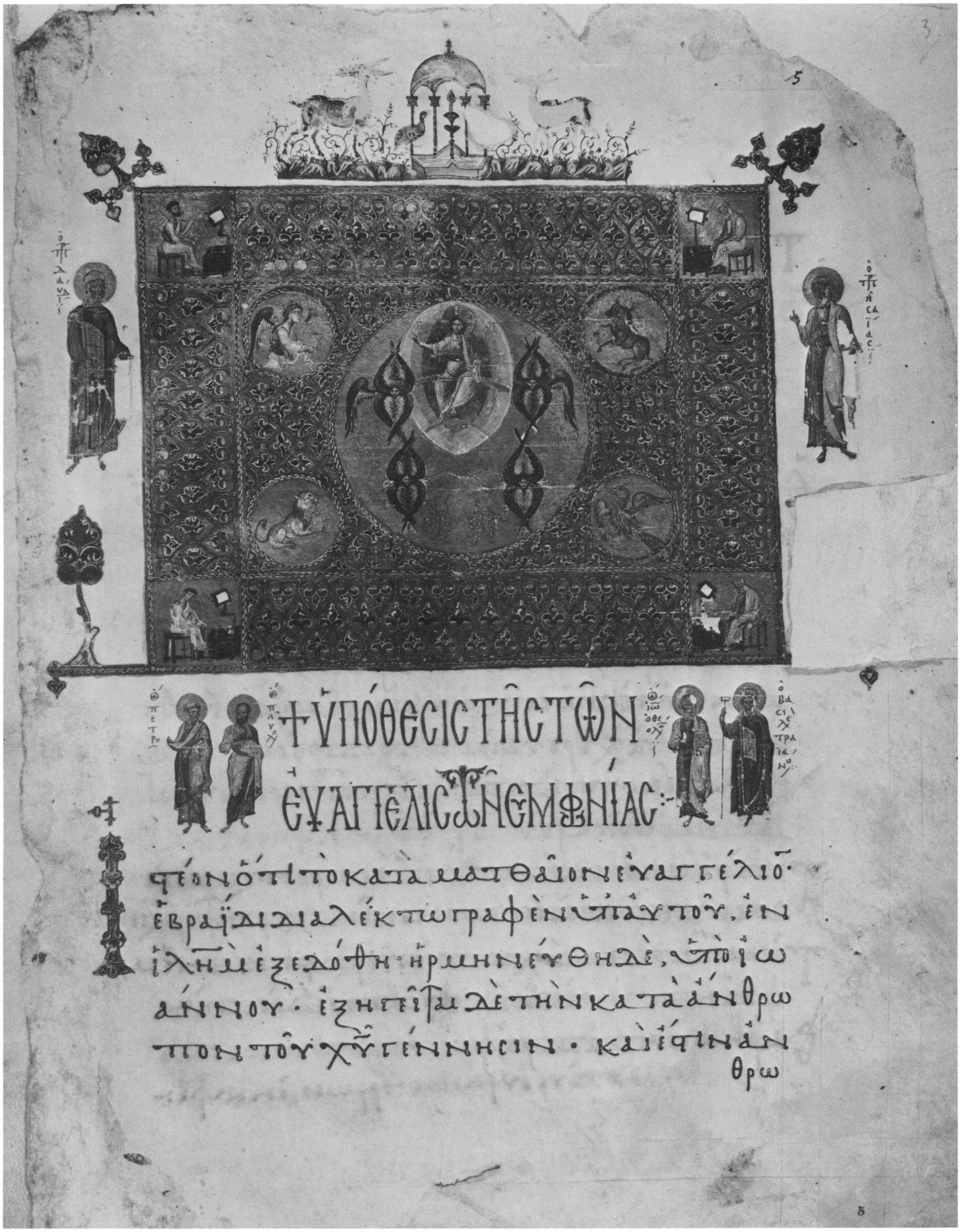
ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ

Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι
διήγησιν· περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν
ἡμῖν πραγμάτων· καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ
ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ
λόγου· ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν.

3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 74, fol. 104r



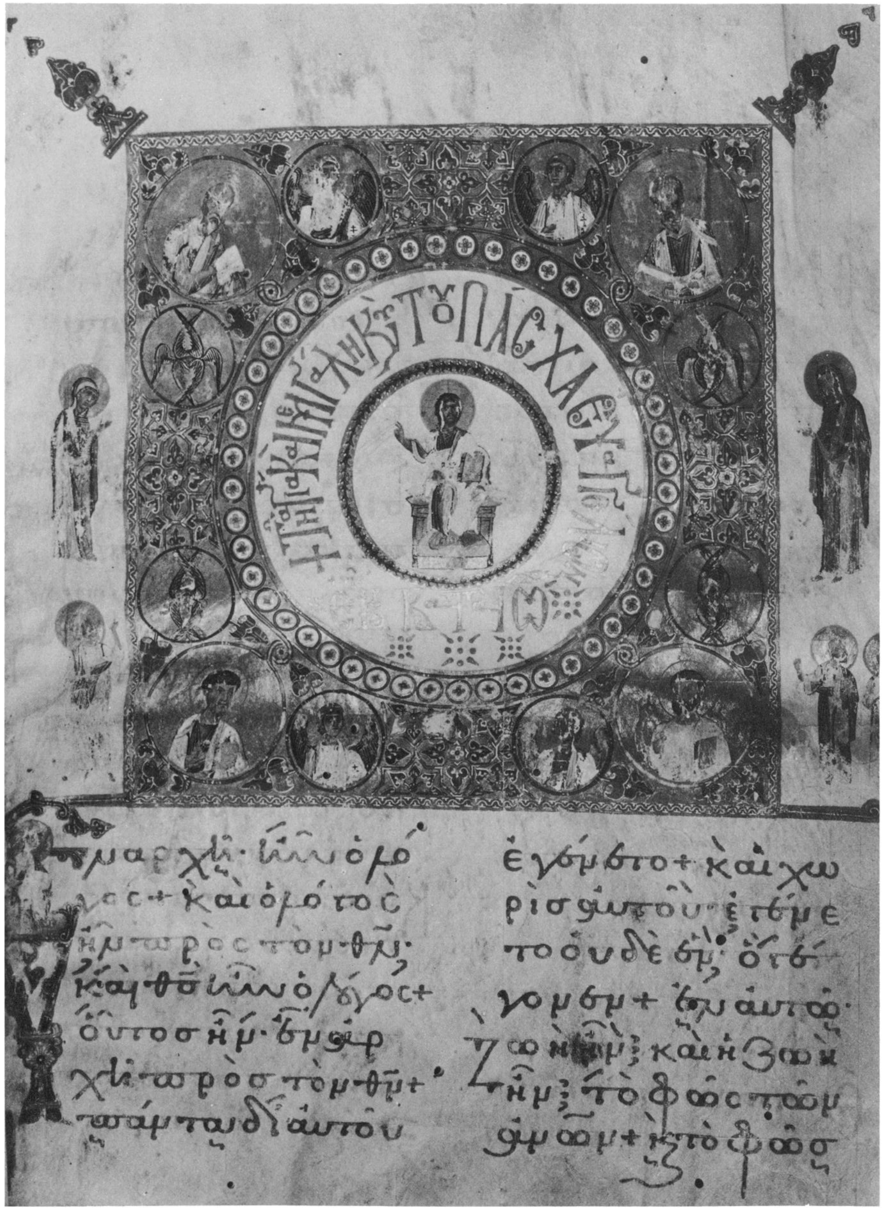
4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 74, fol. 167ʳ



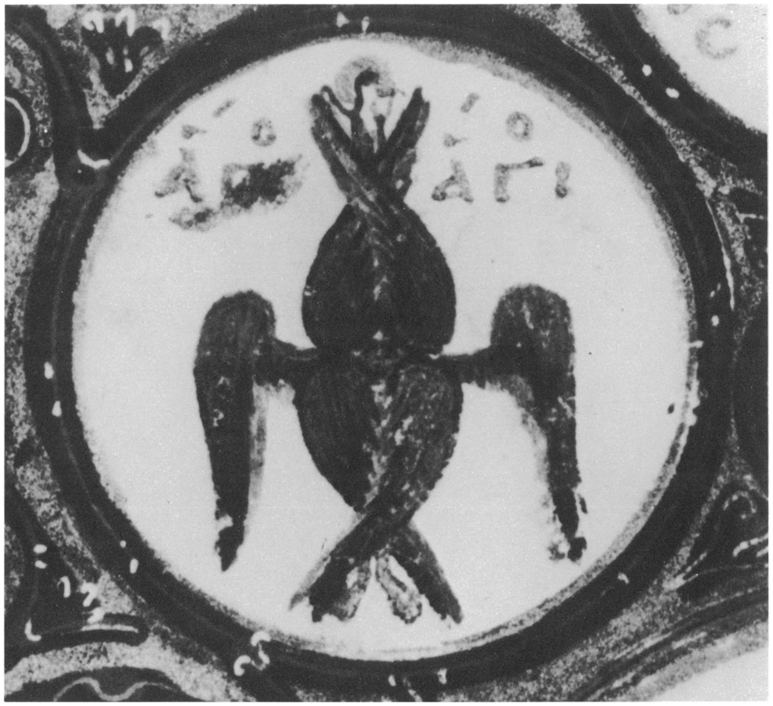
+ ὙΠΟΘΕϹΙϹ ΤΗϹ ΤΩΝ
ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙϹΤΩΝ ϹΥΜΦΩΝΙΑϹ:-

ϊστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον·
ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτω γραφὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἐν
ἱλῆμ ἐξεδόθη· ἡρμηνεύθη δὲ, ὑπὸ ἰω
άννου· ἐξηγεῖται δὲ τὴν κατὰ ἄνθρω
πον τοῦ χῦ γέννησιν· καὶ ἐστὶν ἀν
θρω

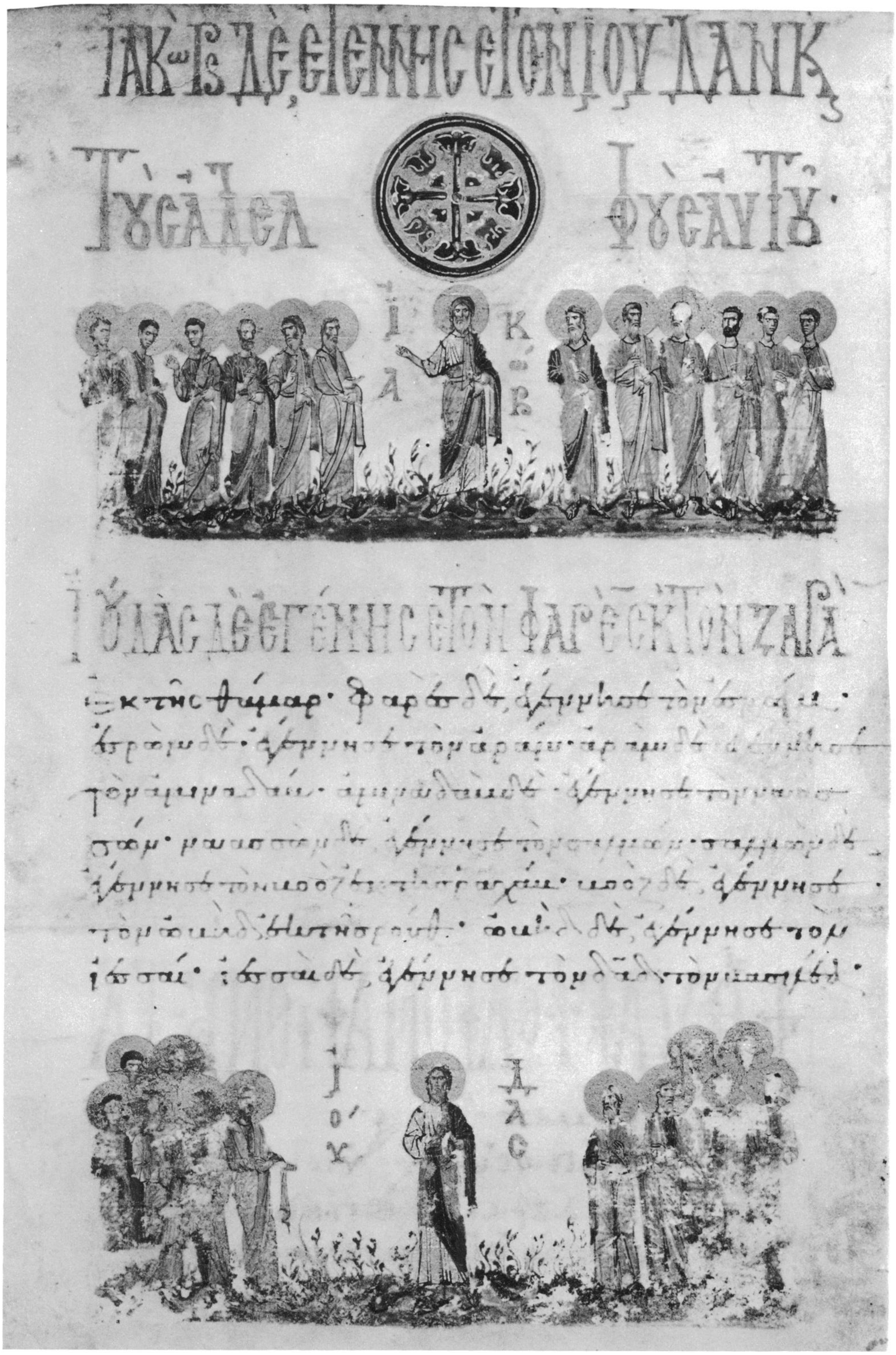
5. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS gr. 5, fol. 5r



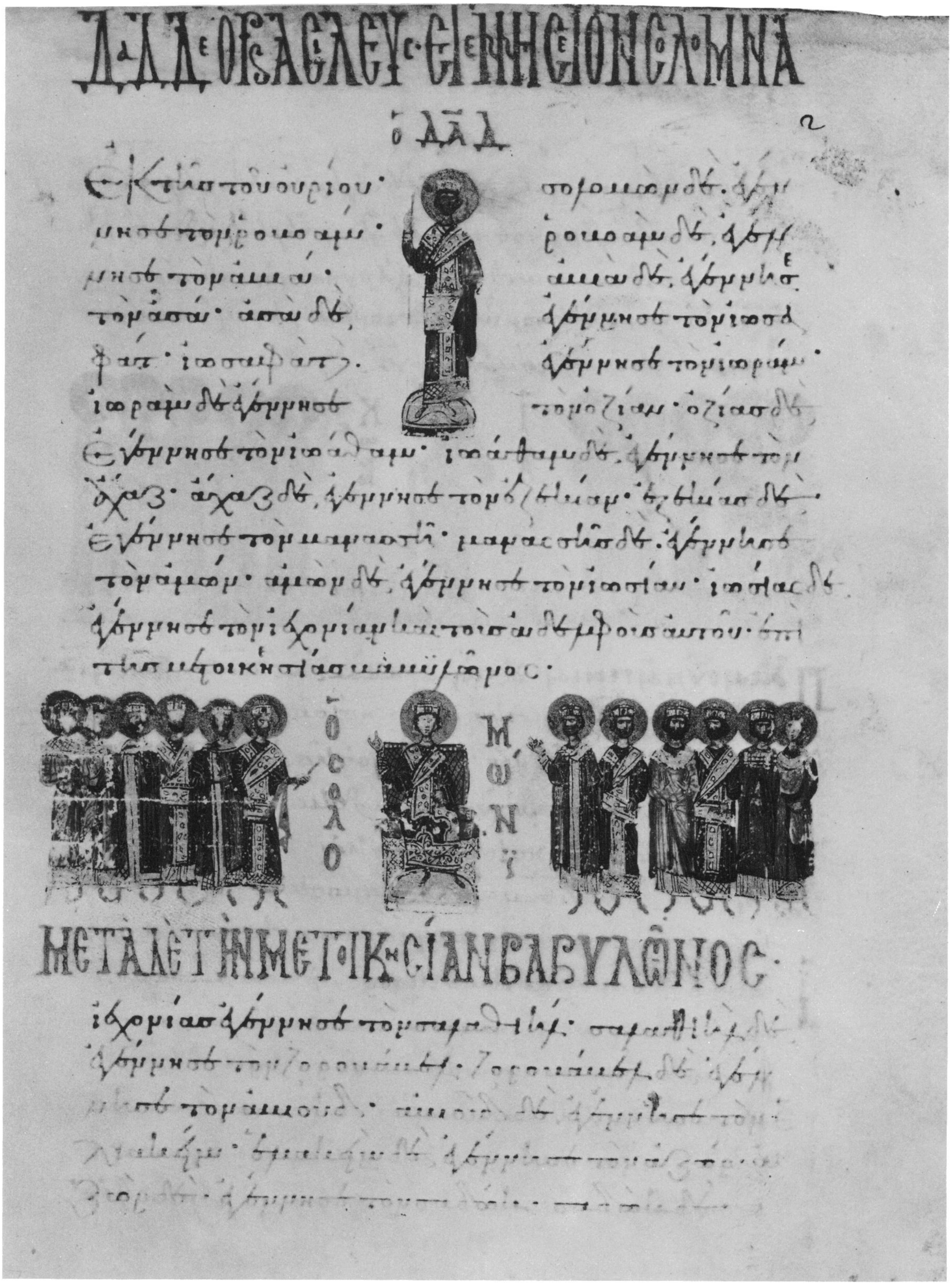
6. Athens, National Library, cod. gr. 2645, fol. 1r



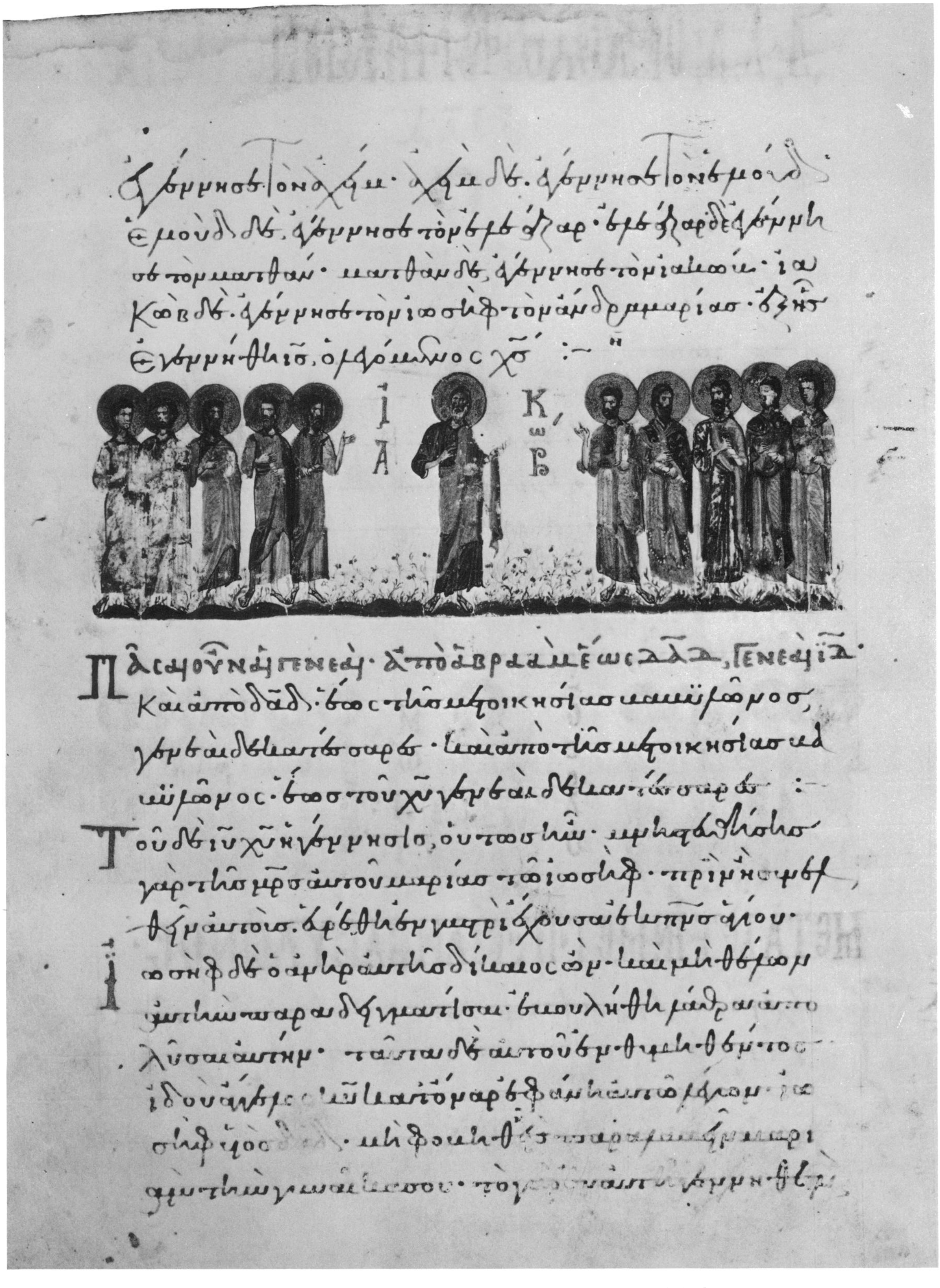
7. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 74, fol 1r, detail, Seraph



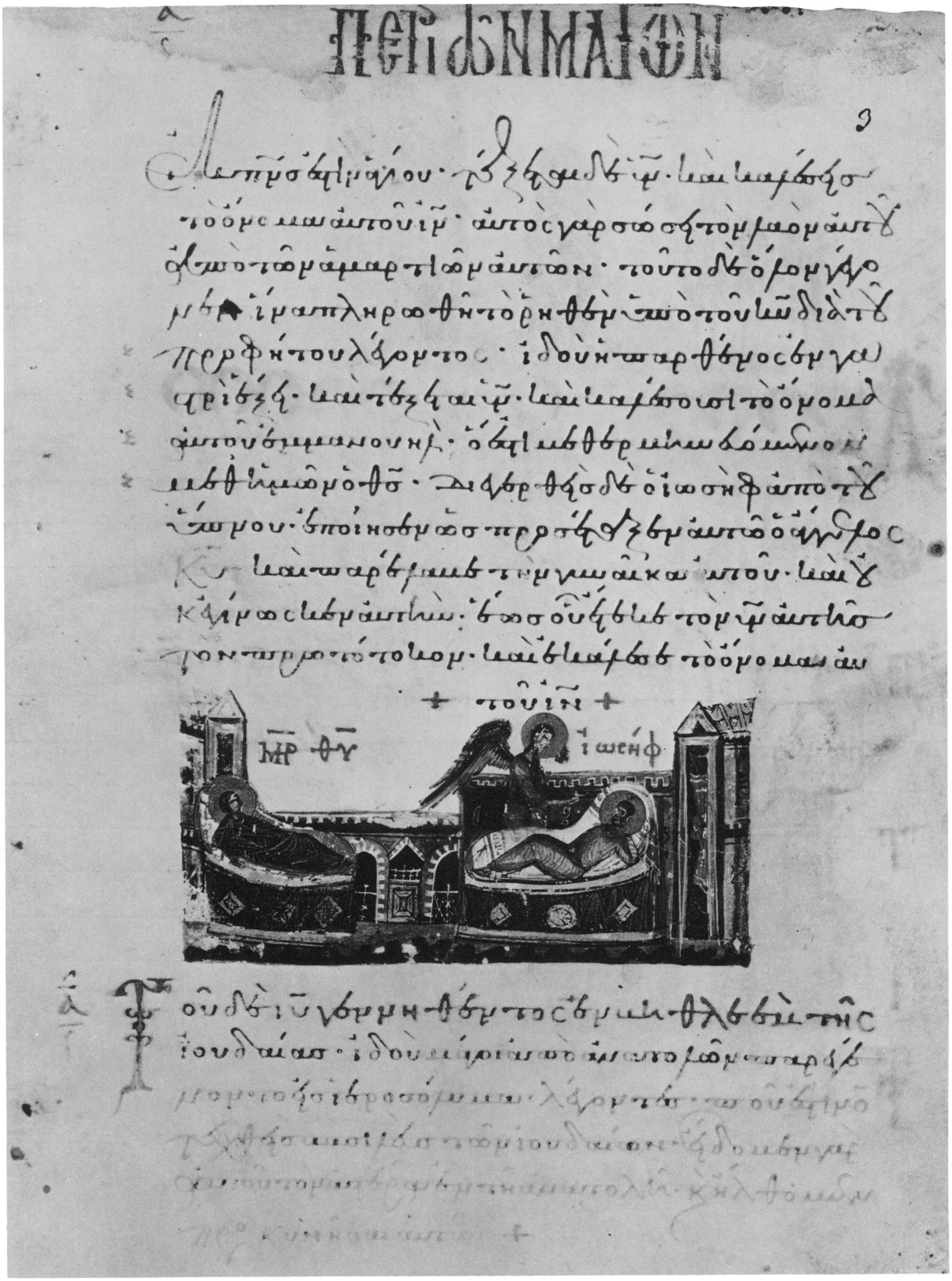
8. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 74, fol. 1v



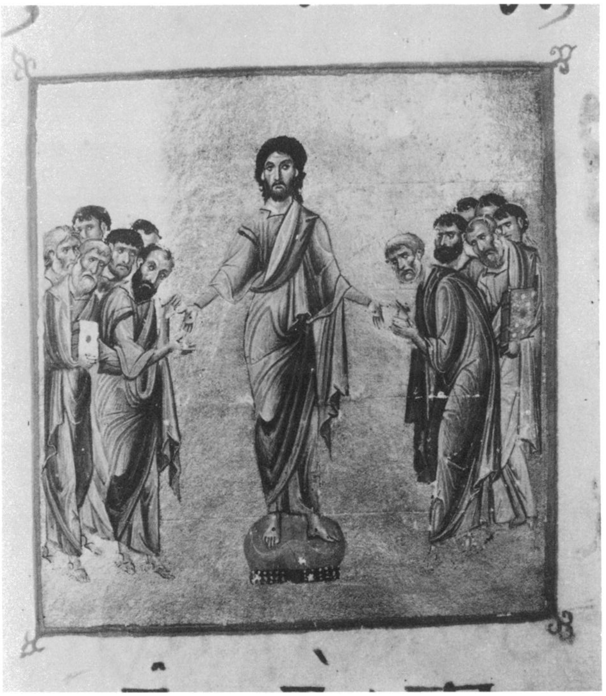
9. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 74, fol. 2^{r}



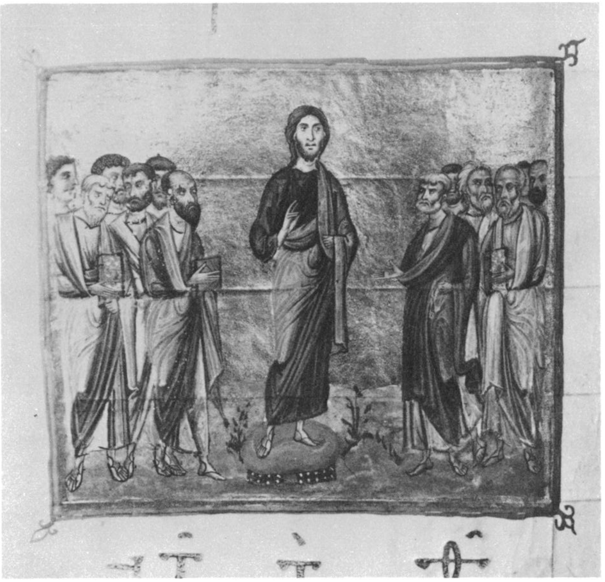
10. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 74, fol. 2v



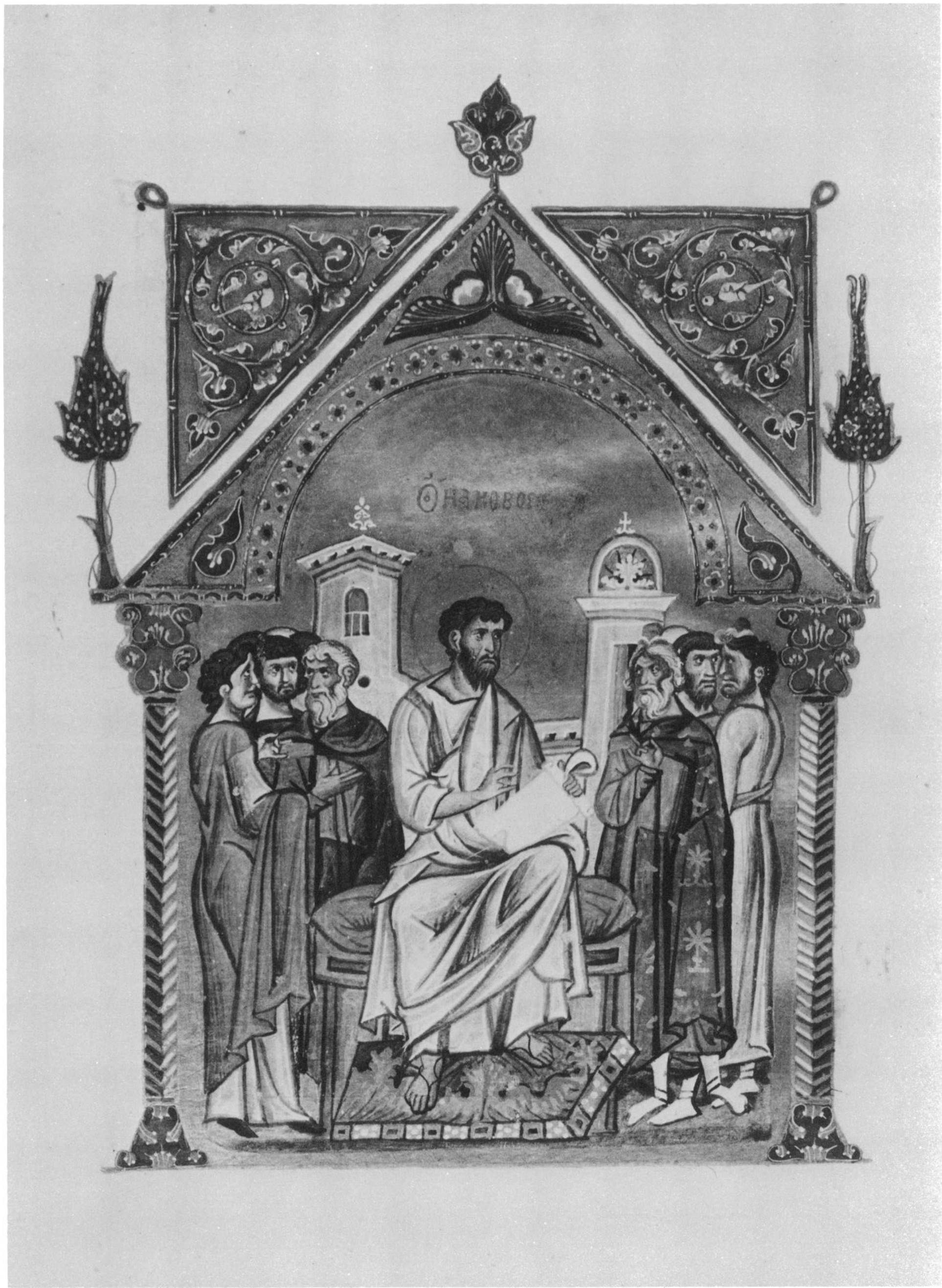
11. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 74, fol. 3r



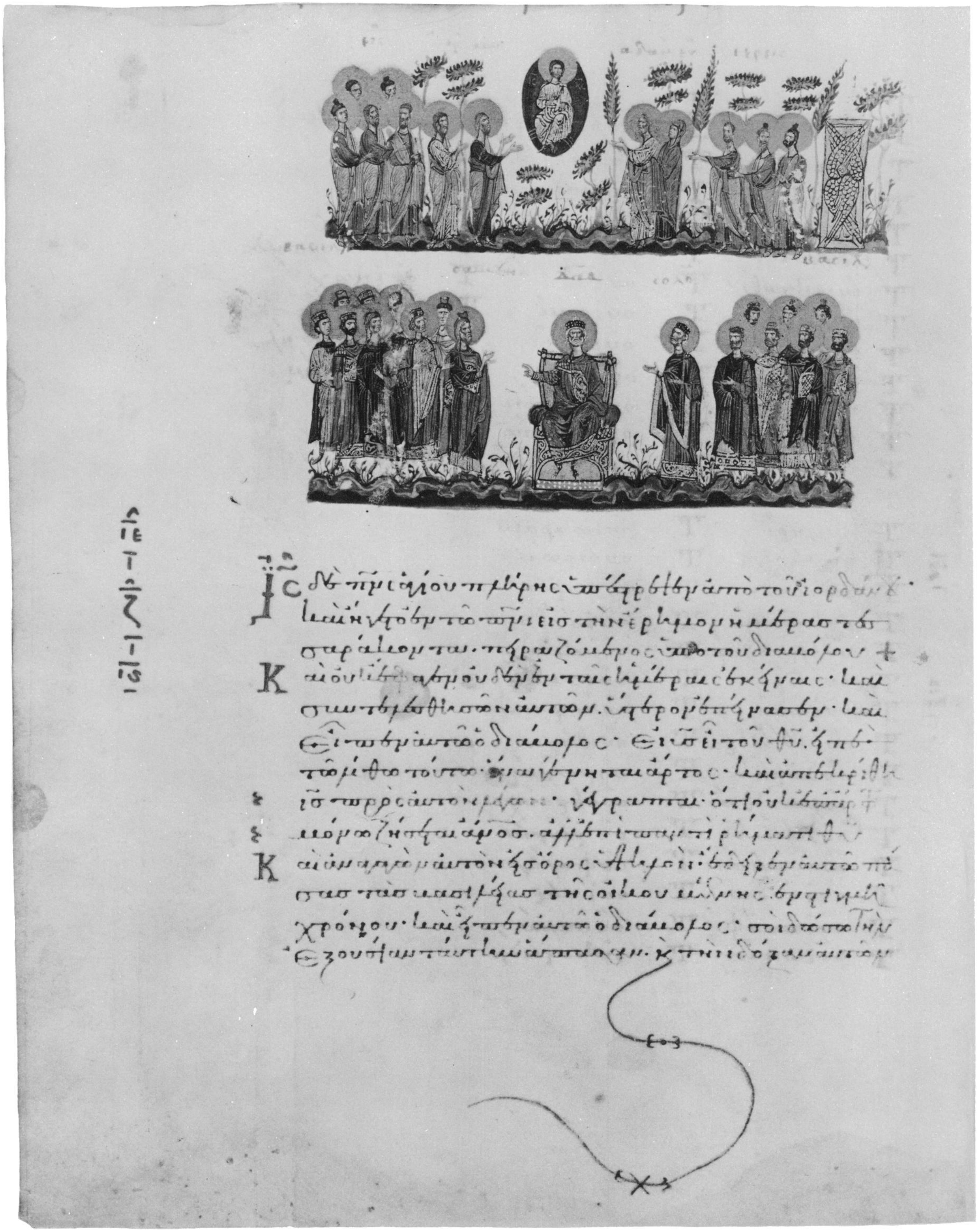
12. Mt. Athos, Dionysiu, cod. gr. 587, fol. 14v



13. Mt. Athos, Dionysiu, cod. gr. 587, fol. 158v



14. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T infra, I, 10, fol. 287v



15. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 74, fol. 112v

to the mystery of the Incarnation. Thus, each of the Genealogy pictures in Matthew which are modeled after the theophany picture of the Mission of the Apostles is in the first place the image of the witnesses to the transcendental nature of Christ. On the other hand, by their arrangement in monumental compositions, they clearly remind us of the important role played by the House of Abraham and David which brought about the mystery of the Incarnation.

ICONOGRAPHY

As I have already observed, the iconography of the Genealogy pictures in Matthew is selective in Paris. gr. 74, in contrast to the compact representation that is found in the Florentine Gospel book. The selection of the ancestors who appear in the center of each composition is comparable, as Miss Der Nersessian has pointed out, to that which illustrates the Matthew genealogy in Paris. gr. 64, folios 10^{v} and 11^{r},[99] even though the identification of the figures in the latter manuscript has to remain more or less conjectural because of the total lack of inscriptions with their names.

Although admitting that the two Genealogy cycles share a basic feature, one can still point out various significant differences between them. The most remarkable of these is the addition of the flanking figures in Paris. gr. 74. Curiously, however, most of these figures cannot be identified, except for the royal personages on either side of King Solomon who certainly represent the twelve Kings of Israel before the Babylonian captivity. Omont, in his facsimile edition, tentatively identified the twelve figures flanking Jacob the patriarch as his twelve sons, and the twelve flanking Judah as his brothers.[100] The identification of the latter is especially puzzling because, if the figures are indeed the brothers of Judah, as Omont believed, they must include Dinah, Jacob's only daughter, who is mentioned in Genesis 46:15. However, it is hard to determine whether or not a female figure is included.

On the verso of folio 2 there is the last miniature of the Genealogy cycle (fig. 10). The center of the composition is occupied by a tall man with white hair and beard who holds a scroll in his left hand and, from his gesture, is addressing himself to the figures on his left. The inscription accompanying this figure reads ʼΙΑΚώΒ. There is, actually, another Jacob mentioned in the genealogical table in Matthew 1, in verses 15–16. According to the text, he is the father of Joseph the carpenter. Since the miniature we are discussing is placed at the very end of the genealogical table, after verse 16, the central figure could be identified as this Jacob.

The identification of the flanking figures presents, however, a few problems. According to Omont, they are the ten brothers of Joseph the carpenter.[101] This, in my opinion, is unacceptable. First, as far as I know, there is no literary evidence which might support the existence of the "ten brothers" of Joseph the carpenter. The only brother known to me is Clopas or Cleopas, the father of Symeon, who became the second bishop of the church of Jerusalem.[102] Second, if we examine these figures carefully, we realize that the first four on the right are wearing mantles, small crown-like caps, and shoes, whereas all the others are dressed in pallia and sandals. These first four figures are obviously Jewish priests. How, then, could Jacob the father of the carpenter be accompanied by these priestly figures?

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[99] Der Nersessian, "Parisinus graecus 74," 113 and note 22; Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. LXXXV.

[100] Omont, *Evangiles*, 3 (where, by mistake, the miniature is said to be on fol. 3^{r}).

[101] *Ibid.*

It is interesting that Jewish priestly figures are found again in a portrait of a *Iakobos*; but in this case the personage represented is James ('Ιάκωβος) the brother of the Lord. The portrait is, appropriately, the frontispiece of the Epistle of James in the famous codex Ebnerianus (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T infra, I, 10, fol. 287^{v}; fig. 14).[103] The figure is seated on a sumptuous bench with a cushion, his feet resting on a jewel-studded footstool. He is turned toward a group of men at his left, among whom there are at least two Jewish priests. As in the miniature in Paris. gr. 74, there are no priestly figures in the group to James' right side.

The presence of Jewish priests in the portrait of James the brother of the Lord is easily explained by the Early Christian and Byzantine tradition variously attributed to Clement of Alexandria, Josephus, and others,[104] especially Hegesippus, who is quoted by Eusebius in his *Church History*.[105] According to this tradition James took over the Church of Christ together with the Apostles (μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων). In *Church History*, IV, 5, 3, he is listed as the first bishop of the church of Jerusalem. In the Pseudo-Clementine literature it is said that Christ Himself ordained James the first bishop of the church.[106] He was called the Just because of his ardently ascetic life. He alone was permitted to enter the sanctuary, where he, constantly genuflecting, worshiped God and begged Him to pardon the people. Then he led some of the seven major sects of the Jews into the faith in Christ.

This hagiographical tradition continued in Byzantine times, and is found, for instance, in a Jerusalem *typicon* attributed to Andrew of Crete, also known as Andrew of Jerusalem, from the seventh century.[107] Again, the text of the Menologion of Basil II states that James taught both Jews and Christians in Jerusalem.[108] Finally, some Gospel prefaces and epigrams partly reflect the same tradition in very abbreviated form.[109]

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[102] Concerning the relatives of Jesus Christ, the basic study is that of Th. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, pt. 6 (Leipzig, 1900), sect. 2, p. 225ff. More recently, the study by A. Meyer and W. Bauer, in E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 3rd ed. completely revised by W. Schneemelcher, vol. I (Tübingen, 1959), 312f., esp. 316–17.

[103] Lazarev, *Storia*, 253; *Byzantine Art, an European Art* (see note 2 *supra*), no. 296; C. Meredith, "The Illustration of Codex Ebnerianus," *JWarb*, 29 (1966), 419ff.; K. Weitzmann, "An Illustrated Greek New Testament of the Tenth Century in the Walters Art Gallery," in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy Miner* (Baltimore, 1974), 24 and fig. 17.

[104] Cf. Zahn, *op. cit., s.v.* "Jakobus, 'Bruder des Herrn,'" in the Index, p. 367; Meyer and Bauer, in Hennecke, *loc. cit.*

[105] II.23, PG, 20, col. 196ff.

[106] Meyer and Bauer, in Hennecke, *op. cit.*, 514.

[107] A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας, I (Brussels, 1891), 1–14; Zahn, *op. cit.*, 257f.

[108] PG, 117, col. 121C.

[109] Von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (see note 27 *supra*), 306f.

Thus, the presence of the Jews in the portrait of the second ’Ιακώβ in Paris. gr. 74 is, I believe, sufficiently convincing evidence that this picture was not originally a portrait of Jacob the father of Joseph the carpenter, but that of James the brother of the Lord. The tradition also explains why the Jewish priests in our miniature are all nimbed, like the other, presumably Christian, figures: they are the Jewish priests converted to the Christian faith by James the brother of the Lord.

As the result of my investigation concerning the iconographical source of the picture of James, a question inevitably arises as to what the original intent of the illustrator was. Did he simply substitute the portrait of James (’Ιάκωβος) the brother of the Lord for that of another ’Ιακώβ, whose model was not available to him? If so, why did he have to copy all those iconographical details, which clearly identify the central figure as James the brother of the Lord? I am inclined to believe that, for the illustrator, the image of James the brother of the Lord must have been of particular importance, especially in connection with the genealogy of Christ.

A study of the early Jerusalem church reveals that Christ entrusted to James the first episcopal see in Christendom, and that the bishops of the Jerusalem church for some generations were elected from among the descendants of Christ. Since both Christ and James belonged to the House of David, the bishop's see of the Jerusalem church was not only the highest see in all Christendom but also represented the continuation of the genealogy of the House of David—in other words, it was the throne of the king of Israel. According to this tradition, then, the Davidic genealogy of Christ continued through the first bishops of the church of Jerusalem because they were the legitimate heirs of the royal genealogy of Christ.[110]

The same tradition is reflected in the liturgical calendar of the early Jerusalem church. According to the earlier Jewish calendar of feasts, December 25 and 26 were the dates for the commemoration of the Patriarch Jacob and of King David. After the Christianization of the Jewish community in Jerusalem, James (’Ιάκωβος) the brother of the Lord gradually took the place of the patriarch of Israel of the same name and was commemorated as the first bishop of the Jerusalem church together with King David on December 25.[111] The tradition continued into the Byzantine calendar. On the Sunday after the Nativity, Joseph the carpenter is commemorated with David and James the brother of the Lord[112]. This proves beyond doubt the importance of the first bishop of the Judeo-Christian Jerusalem church in the genealogy of Christ.[113]

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[110] Zahn, *op. cit.*, 358; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (London, 1969), 276f., 290f.

[111] A. Baumstark, *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen des ersten Jahrtausends* (Münster in Westf., 1921), 151f.

[112] κυριακῇ μετὰ τ. χριστοῦ γένν: Matt. 2, 13–23; andere καὶ μνήμη ... ἰωσὴφ τοῦ μνήστορος, δαυὶδ τοῦ ϑεοπάτορος, καὶ ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοϑέου. C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, I (Leipzig, 1900), 373.

[113] On the veneration of James Major in Jerusalem, see also K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 54–55.

This church-historical and liturgical background justifies the presence of James the brother of the Lord at the end of this unique Genealogy cycle in Paris. gr. 74. It also indicates that the artist who illustrated our Gospel book in the last decades of the eleventh century was sufficiently familiar with the tradition and liturgy of the Jerusalem church. Our premise is supported by recent research in the Jerusalem liturgical tradition which has revealed that, in the eleventh century, the *typica* of the Sabas monastery in Palestine exerted considerable influence over the monastery of Studios in the capital.[114]

An analysis of the scene of the First Dream of Joseph which follows on folio 3r (fig. 11) will diclose some interesting facts bearing upon the present discussion. The iconography, as I said, is rather unusual. To the right of the composition there is the scene of the angel announcing the birth of Christ to the sleeping Joseph. On the left side the Virgin Mary is lying on a couch, which is placed symmetrically to that of Joseph. The presence of the Virgin here is puzzling, since Matthew (1:24) states that "Joseph took Mary home to be his wife" only after the announcement he had had in his dream. It would seem that her presence in this nocturnal scene might even have appeared blasphemous to the eyes of the Byzantines.

According to the apocryphal *Protoevangelium Jacobi* (XIV, 2), however, when Joseph received the announcement concerning the birth of Christ, he woke up and "watched over her [the Virgin Mary]."[115] We may perhaps interpret the iconography of our miniature as the conflation of two successive scenes, that of Joseph dreaming, and that of Joseph watching over Mary. But it is one of the *kontakia* of Romanos the Melodist that explains the iconography most convincingly. In the Nativity hymn, the Virgin, after the Annunciation, made Joseph come to her and said to him: "Where have you been, you wise man? Why have you not watched over my chastity?"[116] The Magi who came to adore the Infant were also amazed at the presence of Joseph near Mary in the cave. They could not help enquiring of the Virgin lest his presence nearby bring suspicion on her chastity. Then, the Virgin answered them, "I will tell you why I keep Joseph in my house. It is to confuse all the scandalmongers, because Joseph will tell what he has learned about my child. In a dream he has seen an angel, who told him by Whom I have conceived my child. This is the reason why Joseph is with me, witnessing that the little child is God beyond ages."[117] In this hymnographical tradition, Joseph is no less than the witness of the mystery of the virgin birth of Christ. In the discussion of the portrait of James the brother of the Lord, I have observed that there are in Paris. gr. 74 certain iconographical elements which most probably have a Judeo-Christian origin. Now the analysis of the Dream scene seems to confirm my observation. First, the *Protoevangelium Jacobi* was especially favored by the ascetic Judeo-Christian communities of the Ebionites.[118] Second, Romanos the Melodist, the most prominent composer of *kontakia*, is believed to have been a Syrian-born Judeo-Christian. The content and style of the *kontakion* certainly developed from the metrical sermons widely employed in the Syrian liturgy. Romanos brought this Syrian hymnographical tradition to the capital of the Empire around A.D. 500. (In the Middle Byzantine period, too, there was an exchange of hymnographical material between the Syrian Jacobites and the Byzantines.)[119] It is, therefore, not surprising to find in Romanos' *kontakia* certain apocryphal elements derived from the *Protoevangelium Jacobi*.

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[114] G. Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church*, OCA, 193 (Rome, 1972), *passim*, esp. 278ff.

[115] Hennecke, *op. cit.*, I, 285.

[116] Romanos the Melodist, *Hymnes*, ed. and trans. J. Grosdidier de Matons, II (Paris, 1965), 33.

[117] *Ibid.*, 63.

On the basis of these observations I should like to suggest further that, very likely, the unique Dream scene was introduced in our narrative Gospel cycle at the same time as the portrait of James the brother of the Lord. It has already been suggested[120] that the central figures in the ancestors portraits in Paris. gr. 74 correspond to those in Paris. gr. 64. There is, however, one definite deviation. The portraits of Joseph and Mary, the "parents" of Christ, in the latter (fol. 11^r) are replaced with that of James in gr. 74, probably because they were to be represented in the Dream scene on folio 3^r. Significantly, the composition of the Dream preserves the symmetry which prevails in the Genealogy pictures. It is perfectly balanced, and its axis is parallel to that of the text column. From a morphological viewpoint, therefore, the scene is the continuation of the Genealogy cycle.

It was G. Millet who first pointed out that a number of iconographical elements in the Gospel cycle in Paris. gr. 74 are derived from an apocryphal and hymnographical tradition of Syro-Palestinian origin.[121] He, however, regarded these elements as the result of caprice on the part of the illustrator, and failed to understand their true *raison d'être* in this basically canonical Gospel cycle. In contrast with Millet's view, it is my belief that most of these heterogeneous elements are introduced here for the purpose of investing the Gospel cycle with a liturgical character by replacing in many cases the original canonical narrative scenes.[122] In the section that follows, my investigation of another "Genealogy" miniature in the Gospel of Luke will elucidate and further confirm my viewpoint.

THE "GENEALOGY" PICTURE IN THE GOSPEL OF LUKE

COMPOSITION

On folio 112^v of the Parisinus there is a rather unusual picture (fig. 15).[123] Since Omont's facsimile publication, the miniature has been said to illustrate the genealogy of Christ in Luke 3:23–38. The iconography, however, can hardly be explained on the basis of the genealogy text. Nor is the physical relationship between the picture and the genealogy text close enough to justify this interpretation. The picture is placed at the top of folio 112v and immediately precedes chapter 4. It would thus seem to be connected with the beginning of chapter 4 rather than with the genealogy table, which ends on the recto side of the same folio. But, at first sight, the picture has no iconographical relation to the beginning of chapter 4, which narrates the Temptations of Christ in the desert.

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[118] O. Cullmann, in Hennecke, *op. cit.*, I, 279.

[119] Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (see note 40 *supra*), 262ff. and 425ff. Cf. also note 129 *infra*.

[120] Cf. *supra*, p. 193.

[121] Millet, *Recherches*, 148ff. and *passim*.

[122] Tsuji, "The Byzantine Gospel Illustrations," 126ff.

[123] Cf. Omont, *Evangiles*, pl. 100.

This enigmatic iconography has been little explored by scholars, with the exception of Professor Grabar, who interpreted it as an expression by a Studite monk of the traditional Byzantine political idea of the diarchy—i.e., of the two powers, the royal and the ecclesiastical—and thereby loosely connected the picture with the genealogy of Christ which is often interpreted as representing His royal as well as His priestly ancestry.[124]

Whether or not Grabar's interpretation is justifiable, I shall begin with an investigation into some interesting formal aspects of the miniature which have hitherto escaped the attention of scholars. The composition consists of two registers placed one above the other. On the left half of the upper register are Moses and Aaron heading a group of Israelite priests, while on the opposite side are Adam and Eve clothed in long garments, also followed by priests. All these personages are accompanied by inscriptions with their names. The gate of Paradise is found at the right end of the register, guarded by a cherub. The undulating ground is richly covered with trees and grasses. All the figures are worshiping Christ seated in a mandorla high above the ground in the middle of the register, their hands extended in supplication.

The center of the lower register is occupied by David enthroned. He boldly extends his right hand with the gesture of a judge, like that of Christ Pantocrator, and is flanked by two groups of holy priests and kings, among whom Samuel and Solomon are distinguished by being placed closer to David and by having their names inscribed. These priestly and royal figures are adoring Christ in the top register with exactly the same supplicant gestures as those of the figures in the upper zone. Also, the arrangement is equally rigid and symmetrical.

As far as the upper register is concerned, the general composition as well as the characteristic supplicant gestures of the figures are best compared with those in the illustration of Psalm 11 in the Vatican Psalter (gr. 752, folio 42v).[125] It is interesting to note that the comparison between the two miniatures is not limited to their formal aspects, but can be extended also to their iconography. The top of the Psalter illustration is occupied by Christ in a mandorla, which is surrounded by seraphim and angels; at His feet are the wheels of fire. Judging from the inscription (ὁ Χριστὸς ὑπὸ νεφελῶν μετὰ δόξης), this is a representation of the eschatological apparition of Christ on the basis of Matthew 24:30. In the second register two groups of Holy Priests (ὁ χορὸς ἁγίων ἱεραρχῶν) are adoring the apparition of Christ with exactly the same gestures as those of the Israelite priests with Moses, Aaron, Adam, and Eve in the upper register of our "Genealogy" picture. The third register depicts the Paradise with features such as the gate of Paradise, Abraham the patriarch, and the souls of the Elect. The lowest zone is occupied by Holy Martyrs and Holy Apostles, who worship Christ at the top of the composition with again the same supplicant gestures as that of the Holy Priests above. Since the picture is placed in the marginal space of the Psalter, the whole composition is very elongated. Still, there is little doubt that the formal relationship between Christ and the worshipers is very similar to that in the illustration in Paris. gr. 74. Furthermore, the two pictures share many interesting iconographical elements: Christ in His mandorla, the adoring priests, and the paradisiac motifs of the gate of Paradise and luxuriant trees and grasses.

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[124] Grabar, "L'art religieux et l'empire byzantin à l'époque des Macédoniens" (see note 1 *supra*), 163f.

[125] De Wald, *Vaticanus graecus 752*, pl. XIX.

As for the lower register of the Lukan "Genealogy" picture, the best comparison is found in another miniature in the same Vatican Psalter, that illustrating Psalm 6 on folio 27^{v}. This miniature consists of two registers. I have previously compared the upper register depicting Christ enthroned and flanked by archangels with the portrayal of Solomon and the Israelite kings in the Genealogy cycle in Matthew.[126] In the lower register, both the composition and the worshiping gestures of the figures are much like those in the lower register of our Lukan "Genealogy" picture. Above all, the Hetoimasia in the center assumes the same pivotal position in the register as does the throne of David in the Gospel illustration. Moreover, even iconographically, the Hetoimasia—the throne of the Son of Man—corresponds to the throne of David.

Beat Brenk has pointed out that a group of eschatological pictures in the Vatican Psalter, including the two miniatures I have just discussed, must be derived from some monumental Last Judgment composition of the type of that depicted on folio 51^{v} in the Parisinus.[127] The same may be said of the Lukan "Genealogy" picture in the Parisinus. It must be noted, however, that neither the illustrator of the Gospel book nor that of the Psalter duplicated their models mechanically. The judicial aspects pertaining to Last Judgment iconography are omitted in both cases. These Psalter and Gospel illustrations consist only of the figures of Christ and the Blessed; the Damned are not represented. Strictly speaking, these illustrations are not diminutive versions of a Last Judgment composition, but rather representations of the eschatological apparition of Christ to the Resurrected.

As the result of the omission of the judicial elements, these miniatures have gained a clearer compositional balance; at the same time the movement of the figures is entirely directed toward the enthroned Christ at the top. In short, the whole composition has become more symmetrical and uniform. In these respects, these illustrations in the Psalter and Gospel book are not unlike the famous *parousia* picture in the Cosmas Indicopleustes' *Topography* manuscript in the Vatican Library (cod. gr. 699, folio 89ʳ).[128] The correspondence between our "*parousia*" pictures and the picture in the ninth-century illumination suggests that the tendency to invest the representation of the *parousia* with monumental character is of much earlier origin.

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[126] *Ibid.*, pl. XVI. See *supra*, p. 192.

[127] B. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausends*, Wiener Byzantinische Studien, 3 (Vienna, 1966), 87.

ICONOGRAPHY

The essential similarity of some formal aspects of the Lukan "Genealogy" picture with the two eschatological theophany pictures in the Vatican Psalter gr. 752, and the fact that our miniature also shares with them certain iconographical elements already point to what is actually the immediate textual source of this unique iconography.

I definitely believe that it is Psalm 98 which provides concrete grounds for explaining certain specific iconographical details of the picture. From the first verse, ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, ὀργιζέσϑωσαν λαοί· ὁ καϑήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ, σαλευϑήτω ἡ γῆ, we clearly understand that the basic theme of this Psalm is the apparition of the Lord as ὁ καϑήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ and His reigning over the people. In verse 4, the Lord's reign from Mount Zion is described as the Judgment: καὶ τιμὴ βασιλέως κρίσιν ἀγαπᾷ· σὺ ἡτοίμασας εὐϑύτητας, κρίσιν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν 'Ιακὼβ σὺ ἐποίησας. There is little doubt that the many eschatological elements introduced into our miniature from Last Judgment iconography are in accordance with this verse. The position of honor held by David in the composition, second only to that of Christ, becomes clear when the picture is understood as a Psalter illustration. Furthermore, the royal figures flanking David certainly personify the kings, whose "honor loves judgment," of this verse 4. Finally, verse 6 describes Moses, Aaron, and Samuel as follows: Μωυσῆς καὶ 'Ααρῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Σαμουὴλ ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. This agrees perfectly with the presence of Moses and Aaron among the priests in the upper register, and with that of Samuel among the adoring kings in the lower one.

Having identified our scene as the illustration of Psalm 98, we next have to explain the relationship between picture and Gospel text. As I have already pointed out, the text of the Lukan genealogy of Christ in Paris. gr. 74 is found on the recto of folio 112, while the picture is placed on the verso, at the beginning of chapter 4, where the story of the Temptations of Christ is narrated. The iconography of the miniature has no apparent relation to the Temptations story. Here, again, it seems that the answer might be sought in the liturgical tradition which originated in the Syro-Palestinian region.

During the liturgy of the first Sunday of Lent, Psalm 98:6–7 is the *stichos* of the *Alleluarion*. This Sunday is the feast day of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, which was instituted in the year 843; the Gospel lection for this day is John 1:43ff.[129] However, some ninth-century *typica* still preserve an earlier, noncathedral practice. The best example of this early liturgical tradition is provided by the *Kanonarion* which was reconstructed and published by A. Dmitrievskij from a tenth-eleventh-century manuscript bound together with an Evangelary (codex 150) in the library of the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, with variants in fragments in the same library.[130] According to G. Bertonière, this *Ordo* is one of the important pieces of evidence for the liturgical affiliation existing between the monastery of St. Sabas and the monastery of St. John the Baptist of Studios.[131] In it we find that the Sunday of the first week of Lent is assigned not to the Triumph of Orthodoxy, but to the commemoration of Moses, Aaron, and the remaining prophets. Moreover, the *Eisodikon* which sings Καὶ ὁ χορὸς τῶν προφητῶν μετὰ Μωυσέως καὶ Ἀαρὼν εὐφροσύνῃ εὐφραίνονται σήμερον certainly brings to mind the iconography we are now discussing. The reading of the Epistle for this Sunday is taken either from the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (6:2ff.) or from that to the Hebrews (11:24–40). The latter refers not only to the life of Moses but also to the sufferings of other Old Testament forerunners of Christ, to their faith, and, significantly, to their resurrection at the end of time. For the *stichos* of the *Alleluarion* the choice is between Psalm 84:1ff. and Psalm 98:6ff., the second of which, as we have seen, corresponds exactly to the contents of our illustration. Finally, for the Gospel lection, this *Ordo* assigns again two different passages for alternative choice: John 1:43ff. or Matthew 4:1ff. The latter tells the story of the Temptations of Christ.[132]

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[128] C. Stornajolo, *Le miniature della Topografia cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste* (Milan, 1908), pl. 49.

[129] See A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957), 204–8.

Interestingly enough, this tradition still continued in the monastery of Studios in the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth century. The *typicon* of the monastery of Theotokos Evergetides, which clearly reflects contemporary Studite liturgy, shows that Psalm 98 was sung first in the *Prokeimenon* of the Saturday vesper before the κυριακὴ πρώτη τῶν νηστείων τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας, and again as the *stichos* of the *Allelluarion* in the liturgy. The *idiomelon* in the matin also refers to Moses. Here, however, the Gospel lection is limited to John 1:43ff.[133]

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[130] *Opisanie liturgičeskih' rukopisej*, I, Τυπικά (Kiev, 1895), 172ff., esp. 186; cf. J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Eglise*, I, OCA, 165 (Rome, 1962), p. xff., esp. pp. XII–XIII.

[131] Bertonière, *op. cit.* (note 114 *supra*), 164–65.

[132] One may be intrigued by the fact that, in the Parisinus, the illustration accompanies not the Matthew passage with the account of the Temptations, but that in Luke (4:1ff.), while no liturgical text, as far as I know, quotes the latter for the pericope on this particular Sunday. Nevertheless, it is well known that the illustrator of Paris. gr. 74 tends to use the same iconography, with only minor variations, to illustrate a story narrated in more than one Gospel. Especially when the iconography has important liturgical implication, the artist deliberately repeats the same scene regardless of discrepancies between the contents of the picture and the text. The best instance of this practice is seen in the representation of Christ Walking on the Water on fol. 29v. According to Matt. 14:24ff., Christ's disciples were struggling with a head wind and a rough sea. In this picture, however, they are engaged in fishing on the lake, a detail to which the Matthew text does not allude. Such a combination of a fishing scene with Peter swimming toward Christ can occur only in the representation of the Miraculous Draught on the Sea of Tiberias (John 21:1ff.), illustrated in our codex on fol. 211v. It is nonetheless curious that in the miniature accompanying the narration of this event, Christ stands not "on the shore" but on the water. This is due to the counter-influence, so to speak, of the representation of the Miracle of Christ Walking on the Water. In my opinion, the confusions and repetition are deliberate, because the illustrator was seriously concerned with the sacramental (baptismal) significance of the two different miracle stories. Hence, it seems very likely that the illuminator consciously employed the liturgical illustration for Matt. 4:1ff. to illustrate Luke 4:1ff., since the two passages show very little difference in their account of the Temptations.

[133] Dmitrievskij, *op. cit.*, 520–22; Bertonière, *op. cit.*, 168–69. The first redaction of the *typicon* is said to have stemmed from the first half of the eleventh century. The so-called typicon of the Great Church has also some reminiscences of this early custom; cf. Mateos, *op. cit.*, II, 20–23.

From the evidence above it has become clear that Psalm 98, which is undoubtedly the most suitable for the commemoration of Moses, Aaron, Samuel, and other prophets, could also be associated with the memory of the Temptations of Christ, in the Sabas-Studios liturgical tradition. Therefore, we may conclude that the unique iconography found in our miniature of Paris. gr. 74, which is based on Psalm 98, is, in fact, the proper liturgical illustration for the Temptations of Christ and is not the illustration of the Lukan genealogy of Christ. Here again, then, we find the Gospel cycle in Paris. gr. 74 heavily permeated by the liturgical tradition centered in the monastery of Studios, a tradition which, in turn, still reflects the influence of the earlier Palestinian monastic institution. This conclusion does not necessarily exclude the possibility of interpreting the picture also as an expression of the political idea of the Studites.[134] Still, I believe that this iconography was created primarily for a liturgical illustration of the Gospel, thus essentially conforming to the basic character of the illustrations in the Parisinus which I have discussed in this paper.

It is also interesting to compare the method of illustration applied here with that of the so-called monastic psalters, in which a number of New Testament scenes are used to illustrate the text of the Psalms. It has been suggested that these New Testament scenes are arranged according to the liturgical structure of the psalter.[135] If this is so, the method of illustration in Paris. gr. 74 is exactly the reverse of that followed in the "monastic" psalters. Also, the artist who created it must have been a highly educated Studite monk.

Finally I must point out that, in introducing this special *parousia* picture, the Studite artist demonstrates that this zeal for the contemplation of Christophany reaches here the maximum degree of intensity by seeking the vision of the eschatological, universal apparition of Christ. This is confirmed by the fact that the same artist twice introduced Last Judgment pictures of monumental character (fols. 51^{v} and 112^{v}) into this narrative cycle. We have already learned through our preceding study of the medallion figures in the headpieces that the artist is seriously concerned about the liturgical theophany of ὁ καϑήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ because of his fervent desire for the vision of the Invisible.

CONCLUSION

The study of the headpieces and Genealogy pictures in Paris. gr. 74 has revealed that the artist, in illustrating these parts of the extensive narrative cycle, gave much careful and consistent consideration to liturgical significance. In other words, he visually interpreted the Gospels from the viewpoint of the mystery of Christophany attainable through liturgical endeavor. For this purpose he frequently consulted, and borrowed from, liturgical manuscript illustrations such as those proper to psalter or lectionary. All his efforts were inspired by his perennial desire for the vision of the Invisible, a desire which must have been the most fundamental idea of Studite spirituality at the turn of the century, when the influence of Symeon the New Theologian and Nicetas Stethatos was still vital.

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[134] See *supra*, p. 198 and note 124.

[135] The suggestion was made by Mr. Stephen Gardener in his report given in a session of the seminar on the manuscript illustration presided over by Professor Weitzmann at Princeton University in 1972. I am much obliged to Mr. Gardener for his kind permission to read his paper after the seminar.

Nevertheless, the artist's interest is not exclusively directed to the contemplative aspect of the liturgy. The study in which I am now engaged of the miracle scenes in the Parisinus will demonstrate that there are also numerous iconographical elements that refer to Eucharist and Baptism. Again, these liturgical elements clearly reflect a tradition which must have originated in the Syro-Palestinian region, and this is at least one of the reasons why Millet attempted to attribute the cycle of the Parisinus to Antioch. However, we should be most careful of drawing such a conclusion prematurely, for several reasons. First, as I have mentioned in the study of the Lukan "Genealogy" picture, the monastery of Studios had a constant exchange of ideas with Palestinian monastic institutions, especially with the monastery of Sabas already in the period shortly after Iconoclasm. Therefore, it is hard to determine how many of the elements which lend a liturgical character to our codex were actually created in the early Eastern monastic center or are attributable to the metropolitan one. Second, it would be hazardous to assume that all of these elements are the products of the monastic tradition. Many can have been created in a variety of artistic media—monumental paintings, icons, or miniatures—outside the monastic milieu, and borrowed by the Studite artist. Finally, and most importantly, it should be noted that a number of these elements in Paris. gr. 74 may not necessarily have existed in the archetypal cycle. Even Millet admitted that in the cycle of the Parisinus we can still notice the "ancient Hellenistic recension," which is later enriched with heterogeneous elements of Syro-Palestinian origin.[136] It seems to me that it would be more correct to say that in the illustration of this manuscript there are liturgical elements which have been inserted into an earlier narrative cycle for the purpose of assimilating it to the illustrations of liturgical manuscripts such as the lectionary or the psalter. Therefore, whenever the Paris cycle is compared with other extensive narrative cycles of the Gospels, for example, that of the Florentine Gospel book, it must be cleared of all elements of a liturgical character. These must be first detected, and then replaced with what must have been the original narrative iconography.

This is not an easy task, because the method applied by the Studite artist in employing these elements is very complex and subtle, and utilizes a great variety of both pictorial and textual sources. Yet, this is the only way to criticize Millet's thesis in a positive manner, and to reconstruct the origin and the development of Byzantine Gospel illustration. It is my hope that the present essay will bring a contribution to the preliminary stage of future research, by clarifying the method that was used by a Byzantine artist in order to give liturgical connotations to a narrative Gospel illustration.

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[136] Millet, *Recherches*, 149.